

# TIME

The Iraq  
Study Group  
says it's time  
for an exit strategy.  
Why Bush  
will listen.

BY MICHAEL DUFFY





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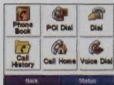
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# TIME

December 11, 2006  
Vol. 168, No. 24

- 10 QUESTIONS:** Charles Rangel on the draft and 2008.....8  
**LETTERS**.....20

## NOTEBOOK

- Could you pass today's citizenship test? the Pope makes a peace offering; hope against cancer—from the abortion pill.....30  
**MILESTONES:** A comic artist and an antismoking guru pass on...37  
**IN THE ARENA:** Joe Klein on Bush's absurd al-Maliki meeting...39

## NATION

- MEDALS, MIA:** Why military honors have been scarce in Iraq...52  
**ON THE MOVE:** Baset at home, Bush goes globetrotting.....54

## WORLD

- LEBANON IN CRISIS:** With the government besieged and Hizballah rising, Cedar Revolution optimism is fading.....58  
**LETTER FROM LONDON:** Russia, radiation and fallout.....62

## BUSINESS

- START THE PRESSES!** Why newspapers aren't dying.....63  
**THE HOSPITAL ARMS RACE:** A pricey fight with medical service centers is driving health costs ever higher.....64

## SOCIETY

- THE NEXT CRIME WAVE:** More parolees and fewer cops mean more violence in midsize cities like Milwaukee.....70

## SCIENCE

- TEETHING ON TOXINS:** Many plastic toys have worrisome ingredients—and they may be in your baby's mouth.....78

## ARTS

- BOBBY BLABS:** He acts! He directs! He talks... not so much! Taciturn Robert De Niro, director, discusses his new spy film...80  
**APOCALYPTO:** Mel Gibson's epic is well made but risible.....85  
**VIEWPOINT:** John Ridley in defense of the N word.....87  
**CULTURE COMPLEX:** James Poniewozik on the civil-war war.....88  
**WORTH YOUR TIME:** Seven books to delight kids.....92

- YOUR TIME:** Resort-club troubles; a new breast-cancer test...97  
**PEOPLE:** Rap against racism; Julianne Moore talks theater...101  
**ESSAY:** Evan Eisenberg checks God's e-mail.....103



### COVER:

Photograph by Benjamin Lowy  
An Aug. 19, 2005, memorial in Mosul, Iraq, for Spc. Jose Ruiz, left, killed earlier that week by insurgent gunfire



JAMES HAMILTON—FOR TIME

70

Police make a drug bust in Milwaukee, a midsize city facing a jump in crime



COVER

The decider doesn't undecide. Until he does. With the Baker-Hamilton report calling for a diplomatic shift and troop pullback, President Bush is contemplating the biggest U-turn of his political life. Does he have what it takes to steer through it smoothly? Plus: Aparisim Ghosh on what a U.S. withdrawal would mean for Iraqis

ANDREW SCHWARTZ—SUBVERSIVE



80 De Niro, right, with Matt Damon, moves behind the camera for *The Good Shepherd*

78

Studies have raised worries that toys like Fuzzy Fleece Baby contain toxic chemicals



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## Name Your Person

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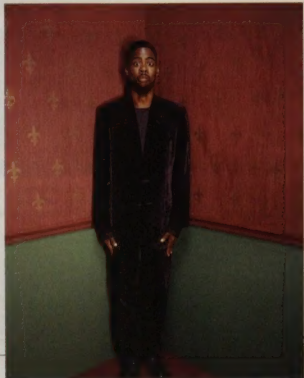


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KATHAN SHERRATT—ALAMY

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1. The Hidden Danger of Seat Belts
2. A Disney Star Is Born
3. The Five Fatal Mistakes of Bush's Mideast Policy
4. The All-TIME 100 Albums
5. Iran and Syria Rearming Hizballah

### SPINNING THE WEB

Keeping a busy news site like TIME.com going isn't an easy job, but executive producer Cathy Sharick and her talented group of producers often make it look that way



DAVID SANFORD—GAMMA

LAST WEEK'S WINNER

### PICTURE OF THE WEEK

This shot of rabbis attending an annual conference in Brooklyn, N.Y., was our readers' choice for best photo last week. To see more images and vote, go to [time.com/potw](http://time.com/potw)

### GIFTS FOR GEEKS

Check out our cool-gear guide for gadgets that will delight all the tech lovers on your holiday list. Go to [time.com/techguide](http://time.com/techguide)



JAMES WARBELL FOR TIME



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DECEMBER 8



# 10 QUESTIONS FOR Charles Rangel

**O** utspoken and influential, New York Congressman Charles Rangel is set to become chairman of the powerful Ways and Means Committee when Democrats take control of the House in January. A co-founder of the Congressional Black Caucus, Rangel, 76, spoke to TIME's Perry Bacon Jr. about his ongoing push for a military draft, whether he would back Hillary Clinton or Barack Obama for President and the controversy over the N word.

**Is your push for a draft purely symbolic, or do you really think there should be a draft?** If we had had a draft, those who decided to have an elective—rather than defensive—strike against Iraq would not have received public or congressional support. When you're talking about war and you have no concept of anyone being lost in your family or your community, then it's human nature to be more prone to say, "Let's fight, I'll hold your coat." I'm serious about it. As of now, I would be satisfied to have a discussion.

**The Ways and Means Committee oversees Social Security legislation. Most people say you'll either have to raise taxes or cut benefits to keep the system solvent. Do you agree?** I guess you would call extending the [retirement] age reducing benefits, but it's a very complex problem. One of the difficulties about Social Security is that if you start talking about the pain, then you lose the political will.

**Whom would you support for President: Hillary Clinton, whom you backed for Senator when she was still First Lady, or Barack Obama?** He ought to get out there, test his wings and see whether there's any solid foundation for his popularity. No question—this is the time to do it. [But] right now, it would be Hillary Clinton, only because I know so much more about her.



**Do you think an African American can be elected President?** I have reason to believe Colin Powell could have been President, yes.

**Recently in New York City, an unarmed black man was shot to death by police officers who thought he might have a weapon. Why do you think incidents like this keep happening?** The police are addicted to a contagious need to expel rounds of deadly

bullets. They cannot control themselves because they see their fellow companions do it. They don't carry the same standard they would in more affluent communities. Race only plays a role because there are more blacks and Hispanics in poor communities.

**Did you hear about Michael Richards' comments, in which he repeatedly used the N word?** Is that the comedian? Yes. So

many of these comedians are obscene that I would have no idea whether they were serious or it was part of their act. It was a terrible insult to African Americans, but so many things on TV are so insulting.

**Lots of black rappers use the N word. Should they not?** I should think it would be a word that nobody would use.

**What did you think of the ad about Tennessee Senate candidate Harold Ford Jr., which had a white woman saying, "Harold, call me"? While it did not seem to me to be as devastating and as racist as I would think in first reviewing it, after having Southerners—white and black—share with me the deep-seated fear whites [have] of black men and white women, I then came to the conclusion that the ad meant to do harm from racial implication.**

**Last year you compared George W. Bush with Bull Connor, the civil rights-era police chief whose name is synonymous with racism. Do you regret that?** I have not chosen my words as carefully as I would want. It was my hope that, as Connor's act awakened Americans to racist policies that existed in the South, [after] the apparent lack of concern with Katrina, Americans would look at the question of poverty. I have been terribly disappointed.

**Four blacks will chair committees in the new Congress, Massachusetts has its first African-American Governor, and Obama is a possible '08 candidate. Is this a new era for African Americans in politics?** There have been gradual increases in opportunity. Condoleezza Rice and Colin Powell are examples as to the progress that has been made politically. But in terms of economic advancements, it has been far slower than the political advancements. It's hard to say it's a new era. ■

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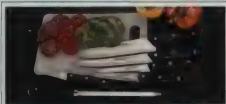
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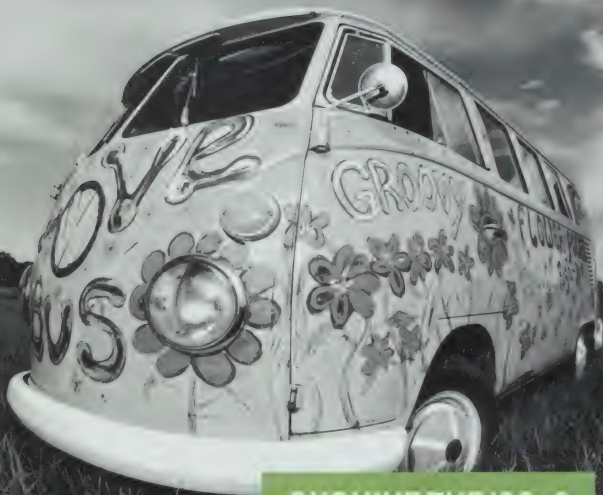
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## FORUM

### MY PERSON OF THE YEAR

To help us make this year's selection, TIME asked cover subjects and previous Persons of the Year for their 2006 nominations. A sampling:



STEVEN SPIELBERG



BOB LANGRISH/TIME

Director Steven Spielberg is a three-time Oscar winner and co-founder of DreamWorks

I nominate Michael J. Fox, who made ads for Democratic candidates this year, using his own suffering to equate the conservatives' war on science with terrible human consequences. The ads occasioned a counterattack that exposed right-wing meanness and helped Democrats take the Senate.

→ **MICHAEL J. FOX**



MELISSA ETHERIDGE



JOHN HANCOCK/TIME

Singer Melissa Etheridge was recognized as one of the TIME 100 last year

I nominate Al Gore. He stood up and said, "Hey, we're not doing the right thing for the planet." I think he's waking people up. He could have just gone away, back to Tennessee, but he has stayed involved. I think it's inspiring to see someone who became a politician because of his beliefs.

→ **AL GORE**



DR. ANDREW WEIL

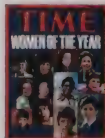


JOHN HANCOCK/TIME

Andrew Weil, M.D., is the author of *Healthy Aging* and a contributor to TIME

I nominate the American Voter for showing gumption and backbone, rejecting the Bush Administration's portrayal of the Iraq war as a success, punishing Republicans for their adherence to an ideologically inflexible leadership and setting the country on a saner course.

→ **THE AMERICAN VOTER**



CARLA HILLS 1975



JOHN HANCOCK/TIME

Carla Hills has held two Cabinet-level federal posts, overseeing housing and trade

You might consider the Iraq Insurgency. It has galvanized the Muslim population beyond Iraq's borders and is considered one of the major reasons the Democrats won the House and Senate. And it promises to be at the top of their agenda when Congress convenes in January.

→ **IRAQ INSURGENCY**

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Walter P. Chrysler, Person of the Year, 1928



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# Ascendency of the Centrists?

Our reporting on the Republicans' loss of Congress took a look at what the triumph of moderates and pragmatists will mean for domestic and foreign policy. Many readers were eager to bid good riddance to scandals and a faltering war strategy, while others remained wary or skeptical of any bipartisan gain

RE "REACHING FOR THE CENTER" (NOV. 20): The American people used the power of the vote to boot the corrupt, ideologically blinkered, full-of-themselves Republicans out of their congressional majorities. Our Founding Fathers were skeptical of the notion that seemingly virtuous politicians would always govern wisely. The founders knew from historical experience that even the most righteous can succumb to the temptations that power brings.

TROY LEE ZUKOWSKI  
Portage, Mich.

THE ELECTION RESULTS MUST HAVE BEEN an accountability moment for the President, even though his sense of accountability is momentary at best.

JIM GALLACHER  
Petaluma, Calif.

THE ELECTION DID NOT BRING AN overwhelming number of Democrats into the House, and they hold only a one-vote majority in the Senate, so it was not "a robust whupping" as Joe Klein so poignantly declared. Democrats should celebrate while they can, since I trust that those who should rightfully govern this country will be back soon.

JEAN SEMBER  
Hawthorne, N.J.

THE REPUBLICAN-LED CONGRESS HAS acted like a latter-day Emperor Nero, fiddling with the issues of same-sex marriage, abortion and flag burning while the Middle East is a conflagration, the global climate overheats and our health-care system crashes and burns. The slim majority that the Democrats have in both houses of Congress as a result of the midterm elections is not a mandate but a challenge to both major parties to work cooperatively to solve the nation's foreign and domestic problems.

KIRK D. GULDEN  
Wilkesboro, N.C.

IT'S UNLIKELY THE DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP will move toward the center. Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi and Democratic



**“The voters have spoken. The politics of fear and smear were defeated in favor of a return to reality-based government.”**

BUD GORDON  
Colorado Springs, Colo.

National Committee chairman Howard Dean would need the Hubble telescope to even see the center.

CHET WHITNEY  
Sioux Falls, S.D.

THE DEMOCRATS WON MAJORITIES IN both the House and Senate, but with slim margins. The Republicans are still in pretty good shape. A single election should not make Republicans too downcast or Democrats too gleeful.

LOYD GATRELL  
Carlisle, Pa.

I BELIEVE THE MIDTERM ELECTIONS MAY finally swing the pendulum back from President Ronald Reagan's conservative

revolution. But it took the needlessly spilled blood of too many young Americans to do it. Tragically, Reagan's "Morning in America" has become mourning in America.

RUSSELL KUSSMAN  
Los Angeles

KLEIN QUOTED A SENIOR ADMINISTRATION official who referred to the failure of Bush's Iraq policy as "a Mick Jagger moment ... You can't always get what you want." Now we will find out if the President recognizes that he has to abandon his six-year *Under My Thumb* approach to dealing with Congress.

JAY P. MAILLE  
Pleasanton, Calif.

## Covering the Results

I WAS FLABBERGASTED THAT YOUR COVER in the wake of the Democratic election triumph was a Venn diagram with the headline "Why the Center Is the New Place to Be" [Nov. 20]. Huh? The Democrats kicked butt. You should have put Howard Dean on the cover. It was his 50-state strategy, along with the great fund-raising work of Congressman Rahm Emanuel and Senator Chuck Schumer, and great candidates with grass-roots support, that won the election.

RUTH ADKINS  
Portland, Ore.

TWELVE YEARS AGO, WHEN THE G.O.P. took control of the Congress, the cover of *TIME* heralded the "G.O.P. Stampede." Now, when the stampede is by the Democrats, what does the cover say about it? There was nary a mention of the Democrats' historic victory, just the headline "Why the Center Is the New Place to Be." But the American people did not move to the political center; they strongly repudiated the hard right.

JAMES K. POWER  
North Bergen, N.J.

AFTER RECEIVING THE THIRD MAGAZINE cover in a row with a white background, I have to say, How boring. Half the fun of



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## SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

### WAR REPORT

■ The July 31 story "Hizballah Nation," on the fighting between Israel and Lebanese militants, included a photograph of a fire in Kfar Chima, near Beirut. The caption mistakenly identified the burning wreckage as a downed Israeli jet. It was actually the aftermath of an air strike.

getting the magazine is guessing what will be on the cover and then seeing what TIME has chosen. I understand the red and blue Venn diagram, but it looks terrible on my coffee table. I hope the Person of the Year cover will not be an abstract artist's caricature of somebody on a white background. If I want to see that kind of art, I'll go to a museum.

KAREN WALTERS  
Paradise, Calif.

## Postelection Pivoting

"SEARCHING FOR A STRATEGY" [NOV. 20] reported that some Republicans are afraid "the White House is about to abandon the neoconservative project to bring democracy to the Middle East." But what right does the President have to decide which system other countries should live under? Democracy has to be desired, demanded and understood by the people. Look at the histories of prominent democracies; most involve civil wars, revolutions or painful, bloody transitions. In Iraq the concept of democracy is strange and new, so it is inevitable that democratization will be a long, drawn-out process with many pitfalls along the way, and no guarantees.

ANDREW HAILSTONE  
Bangkok

THE U.S. MIDTERM-ELECTION RESULTS signaled that Americans want a change in U.S. foreign policy. President Bush made a start by replacing Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld. The President should have followed that by removing John Bolton from his post as U.N. ambassador. Bush also ought to re-evaluate U.S. foreign policy toward Israel. How can the Bush Administration claim to be waging a war on terrorism

when the U.S. supports the Israeli government's actions in the Palestinian territories and actively blocks any attempt by the U.N. to thwart them?

RORY MORTY  
Giessen, Germany

THE IRAQI PEOPLE HAVE SQUANDERED their liberation from Saddam Hussein's dictatorship. Religious fanaticism, political and tribal animosities and irrational anti-Western sentiments have created a crisis of national self-destruction. To reduce the regional prejudice against Western culture, a large scholarship program for young Muslims, with stays of two to four years in the U.S. and Europe, should be launched. I remember gratefully the liberation of Germany at the end of World War II and the subsequent cultural and economic development.

GERHARD FRITSCH  
Nuremberg, Germany

## The Ideal Idealists

RE WALTER ISAACSON'S "THE RETURN OF the Realists" [Nov. 20]: I am sure the neo-conservatives would like the American people to believe that they led us into Iraq because they are idealistic lovers of democracy, and not because they were trying to secure Iraq's considerable oil supplies. They appear to have persuaded Isaacson, however, because his column did not even mention the subject of Iraq's oil. Nevertheless, they will have a harder time convincing many other Americans.

CARY DICTOR  
San Leandro, Calif.

I DISAGREE WITH ISAACSON'S ARGUMENT that idealism needs to be tempered with realism. Idealists do not lie. They are so convinced of the righteousness of their position that deception is not an option. They hold the moral high ground in policy debates and do not create false impressions, like the current President. Idealists promoting democracy would never trample on civil liberties or imprison people without recourse to due process of law.

JEFF T. BARRIE  
Philomath, Ore.

## Karl Rove's Role

DESPITE ROVE'S STATEMENT THAT THE Republicans' loss of their congressional majorities was a "transient, passing thing" [Nov. 20] and not a judgment on the President, the American public roundly expressed its dissatisfaction with the Bush Administration, a dissatisfaction certain to resound throughout the pages of history. Bush is an honorable man, but he let himself be led astray by people like Rove and Vice President Dick Cheney into an unwinnable war. I'm not certain the Democrats can get us out, but the public clearly believes it's worth letting them try.

LEONARD GREENBERG  
Sterling, Va.

## Amicably at Odds

AFTER A BRUISING CAMPAIGN SEASON, how refreshing it was to read Alexandra Pelosi's "My Mother, My President" [Nov. 20]. Pelosi's commentary was a

## BLACK RAGE, WHITE FIST



Former South African President P.W. Botha, who fought the anti-apartheid movement in a futile attempt to preserve white rule, died last month at age 90 [Nov. 13]. TIME covered South Africa's brutal suppression of black protest in an Aug. 5, 1985, cover story:

"Day after day, the number of detainees grew—first 500, then 800, finally 1,000. Police jeeps and trucks rumbled through the dusty, despair-ridden black townships that surround South Africa's towns and cities, stopping at this house and that. A man was pulled out here, a woman there. THE SECURITY FORCES

ARRESTED POLITICAL ACTIVISTS, CHURCH WORKERS, STUDENTS, LABOR ORGANIZERS, YOUTHFUL MILITANTS—anyone, it seemed, who might conceivably lead a protest against the white minority government of State President P.W. Botha ... The crackdown by the Botha government came after ten months of black protest against apartheid ... Botha's proclamation of the emergency was intended to end the violence and bring about what General Johan Coetzee, the national police commissioner, described as a 'cooling down of the situation as soon as possible.' Under the emergency regulations, police were allowed to enter homes, seize property, detain without charge and order people from one location to another ... Yet the violence did not end." Read more at [timearchive.com](http://timearchive.com).



## Home, sweet hybrid home.

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stirring reminder that there is much that binds us as individuals and as a nation, even as we may vehemently disagree about the proper approach to the serious questions facing our nation. Ultimately, Pelosi makes it undeniably clear that George W. Bush and Nancy Pelosi have faced similar challenges within the political process, and both have paid a price for reaching their respective mountaintops. Most important, one finishes the commentary believing that Bush and Speaker Pelosi know the road ahead and will diligently search for common ground. That prospect certainly bodes well for the body politic.

BRIAN SOBEL  
Petaluma, Calif.

## What Her Dad Carries

RE "THE THINGS THEY CARRY" [NOV. 20], on the tokens from home that the Marines from Kilo Company take into battle in Iraq: Since my dad is in the Army National Guard, serving in Iraq, I thought he would appreciate my telling you what he carries. It's a small Celtic cross. He got one for himself, my mom, me, my two brothers and my sister. We all wear them on chains around our necks—except he wears his with his dog tags. We wear them so we can keep him in our hearts, and he can keep us in his.

CATHERINE MORSE  
Hope, R.I.

## Cybersisterhood

"TODAY'S NUN HAS A VEIL—AND A BLOG" [Nov. 20] demonstrated that bright young American women—well educated, talented and capable of reaching for the stars—are entering the Catholic sisterhoods in greater numbers than ever because they're disappointed by what modern society has to offer them. They're prepared to live a poor, chaste and obedient life for the sake of God and their brothers and sisters in the human family. For those who believe, no explanation is necessary. For those who do not, no explanation is possible.

(THE REV.) GINO DALPIAZ  
SCALABRINI HOUSE OF THEOLOGY  
Chicago

A BIG THANK YOU FOR YOUR ARTICLE about modern-day nuns. As a 19-year-old who is seriously considering convent life, I can attest to the efficacy of blogs and e-mail in giving prospective sisters a more accurate view of the consecrated life. Your article

## HOT FILES FROM THE COLD WAR



Markus Wolf, the spymaster who for 34 years ran the foreign-intelligence division of the Stasi, East Germany's secret police, died last month at age 83 [Nov. 20]. After the unification of East and West Germany, TIME's Oct. 22, 1990, story reported on uncovered files that showed how thoroughly Wolf's spies had infiltrated the West German government:

"The people in the West were foolish enough to believe that these files contained the story of only this [Eastern] side of the country," said Werner Fischer, the head of a citizens' committee that took control of the files during the interim

period following the collapse of the [East German] Erich Honecker regime. 'But there is plenty in there about the other side as well.' ... Fischer said the most explosive details are contained in the files of the department's secret-intelligence agency, the section run by the fabled Markus Wolf ... **THAT STUFF IS DYNAMITE, AND [WEST GERMAN] AGENTS MIGHT NOT LIKE WHAT THEY FIND IN IT.** ... said Fischer. The archives also contain videotapes of individuals in sexually compromising situations, financial records of Stasi-front business enterprises and electronic surveillance transcripts that could become evidence in criminal prosecutions ... Berlin officials reported last week that Stasi bugging devices even turned up in church confessionals." Read more at [timearchive.com](http://timearchive.com).

presented sisterhood in a fair and accessible way, highlighting both the cultural as well as religious aspects. At a time in my life when I am starting to get the courage to tell people about my future plans, seeing this article helped me feel more comfortable with my relatively uncommon potential career path. I appreciated TIME's bringing news of this alternative lifestyle to mainstream society.

LESLIE FITZWATER  
Lansing, Mich.

FEMALE RELIGIOUS ORDERS ARE NOT the only sectors of the Roman Catholic Church undergoing a trend toward orthodoxy. There is a small but rapidly growing minority of priests in this country who wear the traditional habit of a Catholic priest: the cassock, a long black robe. Two orders that do this are the Priestly Fraternity of St. Peter and the Institute of Christ the King. Both orders have steadily increasing membership. The Priestly Fraternity cannot build rooms in its seminary quickly enough to house the number of young men who want to become a priest. Both orders say the traditional 1962 Mass in Latin.

ANDREW DUBOIS  
Mission, Kans.

## Born Too Soon

"AHEAD OF THEIR TIME" [NOV. 20] reported that doctors are considering new approaches to the growing problem of preterm births. Even though my first child was born at 35 weeks, I received no special counseling or treatment during

my second pregnancy. When I went into labor with my second child at 24 weeks, I didn't even realize there was a potential health risk for the baby. Thankfully, both my children have been healthy. Your article was the first I've read that addressed the causes of preterm labor. I was pleased to know that efforts are being made to prevent the situation and not just treat the symptom. I smoked during both pregnancies, and every time I see a pregnant woman with a cigarette in her hand, I want to loudly remind her she has another life to consider.

LAURA S. COLLINS  
Jacksonville, Fla.

APPROPRIATE OBSTETRIC CARE CAN HELP prevent premature labor. An increasing number of Americans cannot afford medical insurance, and there is a high percentage of the uninsured among younger, less financially secure people. Since this group tends to have the highest rate of pregnancy, it's possible that premature labor may worsen as America's health-care crisis worsens. I encounter young couples all the time who are prospective parents but have no way of accessing appropriate antenatal care. This makes no sense when 16% of the U.S. gross domestic product is spent on health care.

JEFFREY R. WAGGONER, M.D.  
Denver

## Without Apology

COLUMNIST MICHAEL KINSLEY ARGUED that the neoconservative policy hawks should apologize for getting the U.S. into



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## CREATURE COGNITION



New research shows that animals can recognize themselves in the mirror, *TIME's* Nov. 13 issue reported. But how clever are they really? Our March 22, 1993,

cover story reported on ingenious studies of animals' reasoning ability:

"No animal has done more to renew interest in animal intelligence than a beguiling, bilingual bonobo named Kanzi, who has the grammatical abilities of a 2½-year-old child ...

Under the tutelage of psychologist Sue Savage-Rumbaugh, he makes his desires known either by pointing to symbols printed on a laminated board or by punching the symbols on a special keyboard that then generates the words in English.

While Kanzi cannot speak (apes lack the vocal control to form words), he understands spoken language ...

**KANZI LEARNED LANGUAGE MUCH THE WAY HUMAN CHILDREN DO: BY GOING THROUGH THE ORDINARY ACTIVITIES OF HIS DAY** while humans spoke in English and pointed to the appropriate lexigrams on the portable boards, Kanzi soon began using the lexigrams as a means of communication, requesting games, treats and activities. Eventually he learned to combine two or more symbols to convey his desires. When, for instance, he wanted to watch a favorite movie, *Quest for Fire*, he would ask for "Fire TV." Read more at [timearchive.com](http://timearchive.com).

the Iraq war [Nov. 20]. I, however, have no intention of apologizing for supporting the war. While it has not gone well by any measure, the need for it was and still is the same. Saddam Hussein was a violent despot who engaged in genocide. He was unwilling to cooperate with U.N. resolutions that support long-term peace in the region. He previously waged an unprovoked war. If Saddam were in power today, how would he respond to the development of high-grade nuclear materials by Iran? How did diplomacy affect Nazi Germany, North Korea, Iraq and Iran? Do not blame American conservatives for the failures in Iran and North Korea. Blame the world. It will be 50 or 100 years before we know the real effect of our efforts in the Middle East.

MIKE POWERS  
Hiram, Ga.

I WAS BEMUSED BY KINSLEY'S WISH FOR an apology from Washington's neocons. I feel it's enough that the country has spoken in the midterm elections and demanded a change in dialogue and, I hope, direction from our political elite in Washington. To expect the neocons to grovel is a bit much.

RUSS SMITH  
Grosse Pointe Woods, Mich.

## The Enduring Argument

THE DEBATE BETWEEN ATHEIST BIOLOGIST Richard Dawkins and Christian geneticist Francis Collins was gripping [Nov. 13]. Regarding the idea of a supernatural cause of the universe, Dawkins said, "If there is a God, it's going to be a whole lot bigger and a whole lot more incomprehensible than anything that any theologian of any religion has ever proposed." What qualifies Dawkins to decide these matters? For someone who gets so exercised about the impossibility of God's existence, Dawkins seems to have a fairly clear conception of what God must be like.

RYAN DUECK  
Vancouver, B.C.

ONE HAS TO LAUGH AT THE GOD-VS.-science debate conducted between Dawkins and Collins, because ironically, they both agree. There is a God, and it is science. In an age of ever intensifying absolutisms from the worlds of science, religion, politics and culture, perhaps the time has come to examine what might be learned from each of these areas of inquiry. Perhaps it's time to consider how each position we hold adds value to our lives and not how to convince others of the foolishness of people who hold positions other than our own.

(RABBI) BRAD HIRSCHFELD  
VICE PRESIDENT  
CLAL-THE NATIONAL JEWISH CENTER  
FOR LEARNING AND LEADERSHIP  
New York City

## Global Vision

YOUR SELECTION OF THE BEST INVENTIONS of 2006 [Nov. 13] included the Science on a Sphere display and correctly credited the device as having been developed by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA). The article called NASA and Honeywell the "inventor," however, apparently referring to the 16-min. film *Footprints*, the latest visual display developed for this

platform. We feel this is confusing. NOAA is the inventor and holder of the patent for Science on a Sphere. The technology is a significant and dramatic way to represent the world and aspects of the global environment. NOAA scientist Alexander MacDonald conceived of Science on a Sphere and developed it into a new kind of visual experience that is making its way into science museums around the world.

JORDAN ST. JOHN  
DIRECTOR, NOAA PUBLIC AFFAIRS  
Washington

## A New Brand of Bond

RE "UM, IS THAT YOU, BOND?" [NOV. 20]: Daniel Craig, the latest actor to portray James Bond, reminds me of Marlon Brando in *A Streetcar Named Desire*. His muscular torso goes with a T shirt and jeans more than a Brioni suit. From your article, I understood how the movie industry's obsession with the hyperkinetic brutality of action films is choking the sophisticated elegance of 007. Isn't there any way to make more room for cultural diversity in Hollywood?

HIROAKI GODA  
Kasuga City, Japan

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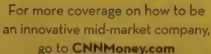
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TIME, DECEMBER 11, 2006

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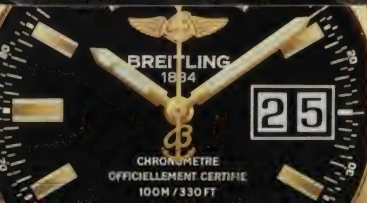
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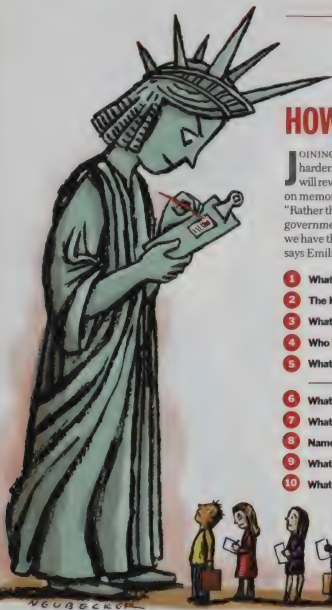
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# NoteBook



## HOW WELL DO YOU KNOW AMERICA?

**J**OINING TEAM U.S.A. MAY BE GETTING harder. The government last week said it will revise the citizenship test to focus less on memory and more on understanding. "Rather than asking how many branches of government there are, we would ask why we have three branches of government," says Emilio Gonzalez, director of U.S. Citi-

zenship and Immigration Services. (Answer: checks and balances.) Good thing you don't have to take the test to keep your passport. According to Gallup, 83% of Americans can't name the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Can you? Here are 10 of the proposed new questions. You need to get six right to pass. —By Carolyn Sayre

- 1 What do we call the first 10 amendments to the Constitution? \_\_\_\_\_
- 2 The House of Representatives has how many voting members? \_\_\_\_\_
- 3 What Cabinet-level agency advises the President on foreign policy? \_\_\_\_\_
- 4 Who is the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court now? \_\_\_\_\_
- 5 What does it mean that the U.S. Constitution is a constitution of limited powers? \_\_\_\_\_
- 6 What is the current minimum wage in the U.S.? \_\_\_\_\_
- 7 What are "inalienable rights"? \_\_\_\_\_
- 8 Name one of the writers of the Federalist Papers. \_\_\_\_\_
- 9 What territory did the United States buy from France in 1803? \_\_\_\_\_
- 10 What is the tallest mountain in the United States? \_\_\_\_\_

ANSWERS: 1) THE BILL OF RIGHTS; 2) 435; 3) THE STATE DEPARTMENT; 4) JOHN ROBERTS; 5) THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS ONLY THE POWERS THAT THE CONSTITUTION STATES THAT IT HAS, OR THE STATES HAVE ALL POWERS THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DOES NOT; 6) \$5.15; 7) RIGHTS THAT PEOPLE ARE BORN WITH; 8) JAMES MADISON, ALEXANDER HAMILTON OR JOHN JAY; 9) LOUISIANA, OR THE LOUISIANA TERRITORY; 10) MOUNT MCKINLEY, OR DENALI

ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY ROBERT NEUBECKER

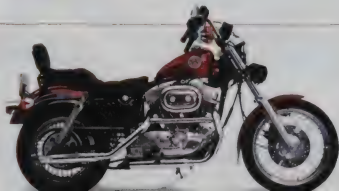
### WHAT'S NEXT

#### • Kabila Wins Again

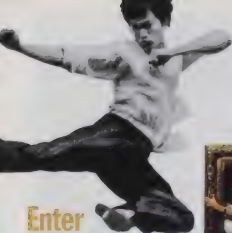
**Congo re-elects its President**  
The first free Congolese election in 40 years ended with the high court rejecting challenger Jean Pierre Bemba's charges of cheating. Joseph Kabila will be sworn in for a second term this week.

#### • No Toys for NoKo

**Sanctions tailored for Kim Jong Il**  
Nuke tests are naughty, not nice. So the U.S. plans to bar exports to North Korea of some of Dear Leader Kim's favorite toys, such as iPods, plasma TVs, Segway scooters and Harley-Davidsons.







## Enter The Fandom

The world is getting two new pilgrimage sites: an ABBA museum is set to open in Stockholm in '08, and a Bruce Lee theme park is under construction near Hong Kong. If they build them, will people come? A look at three of the world's top celebrity shrines—and one failure. —By Nadia Mustafa



### ELVIS PRESLEY Graceland

Elvis' Memphis, Tenn., mansion is the king of all celeb museums, drawing 600,000 fans a year, including George W. Bush and then-Japan PM Koizumi in June. The king-size entry fee: \$55

### ROY ROGERS AND DALE EVANS

**Roy Rogers-Dale Evans Museum**  
Happy trails to the 100,000 people who visit the Branson, Mo., shrine to the western royal couple. Displays include the actor-singer's golden palomino, Trigger, mounted on its hind legs

### DOLLY PARTON Dollywood

For \$45, you, like 2.8 million people a year, can view a dry-cleaning receipt with the original lyrics to *Coat of Many Colors*. Not for you? Well, this 160-acre Tennessee spread also has rides

### JAMES DEAN

**James Dean Gallery**  
This Indiana museum had a cause in its rebel but too few visitors to keep the doors open. It closed in February and auctioned off many of its exhibits. Dean's *Giant* blue jeans sold for \$30K



“This begins what may be a crucial week in determining future U.S. involvement in what has become a civil war in that country.”

**BRIAN WILLIAMS**, NBC Nightly News anchor, following his network's decision to call the situation in Iraq a “civil war”

“There's all kinds of speculation about what may or may not be happening.”

**PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH**, dismissing the use of the term civil war. His preferred phraseology: “sectarian violence”

“Sorry, haters. God is not finished with me yet.”

**ALCEE HASTINGS**, Florida Congressman, after House Speaker-elect Nancy Pelosi declined to name him Intelligence Committee chairman

“It seems whenever someone tries to say ‘Peace on Earth’ it is met with so much resistance.”

**LISA JENSEN**, Denver homeowner, after being told by her 200-home subdivision's board to take down a wreath shaped like a peace symbol. Some neighbors saw it as “politically divisive” during wartime

“Once we spread out into space . . . our future should be safe.”

**STEPHEN HAWKING**, British physicist, on the necessity of expansion to other planets for the long-term survival of the human race

“We didn't want to fall back on the baby-switch story again.”

**JULIE HANAN CARRUTHERS**, executive producer of the ABC soap opera *All My Children*, explaining the decision to introduce the first pre-surgical transgendered character on daytime TV

Sources: NBC News, New York Times, Washington Post, AP (2), New York Daily News



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## ● Blind-Friendly Bills

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On orders from a federal judge, the U.S. Treasury will null remedies—from different-size notes to raised numerals or perforations on bills—to make currency distinguishable to blind people.

LEFT: ALAMY RIGHT: WILLIAM D. BIRD—GETTY

## ● Gamers, Get Ready!

**Microsoft hopes Halo still shines**  
*Halo 2* sold a record-setting \$125 million on the day of its '04 debut. Now the eagerly awaited new version of the video game is almost here: registration for the '07 beta test of *Halo 3* opens this week.

## ● Wiggles Lose Star

**Kids' singer has chronic illness**  
The Yellow Wiggle, a.k.a. Greg Page, is leaving the widely adored Aussie children's group for health reasons. Longtime understudy Sam Moran will wriggle into Page's yellow shirt.



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## A PRAYER AND AN OLIVE BRANCH

ONE WAY FOR A POPE TO show goodwill to people of other faiths is to pray in their holy places. In Istanbul last week, Benedict XVI unexpectedly replicated a signature gesture by John Paul II in Jerusalem in 2000. Both won praise for their irenic moves.

—By David Van Biema



## Pope John Paul II

**PLACE** The Western Wall

**GESTURE** Tucked a note between the stones, asking God's forgiveness for ill done to Jews

**EFFECT** Helped decrease Jewish-Catholic tensions after a previous papal document apologized on behalf of Christianity's errant members but not for any acts of the church

## Pope Benedict XVI

**PLACE** Sultan Ahmet Mosque

**GESTURE** Silent meditation facing Mecca, with Turkey's senior Muslim cleric by his side

**EFFECT** Helped decrease Islamic-Catholic tensions after his aggressive speech in September. It was a surprise from Benedict, previously no fan of public interfaith symbolism



## WHAT'S IN A NAME: MONEY

**G**OODBYE, DELTA CENTER. Hello, Energy Solutions Arena. The NBA's Utah Jazz has sold naming rights to its Salt Lake City home to Energy Solutions, a leader in nuclear-waste disposal, for unspecified millions. The move has spurred fans to suggest nicknames like the Glow Dome and the Melta Center, proof that the lucrative name game can be unpredictable. Ballparks don't always get a pretty moniker—and companies don't always get what they paid for.

—By Carolyn Sayre

### SECONDARY RIGHTS

Today, even high school facilities get branded. When Vernon Hills High near Chicago needed a new stadium, a local paintmaker donated \$100,000. Teams now play at the gratefully named Rust-Oleum Field.

### NICKNAMES ARE FREE

For \$100 million plus, the Houston Astros' stadium will officially be called Minute Maid Park until 2030. To fans, it's the Juice Box. Another case: the New England Patriots' Gillette Stadium is nicknamed the Razor.

### ARIZONA CAN'T GRADUATE

The Cardinals long bore the stigma of being the only NFL team to play on a college field (Sun Devil Stadium). Now it has its own turf, sporting the ironic name of a sponsor that paid \$155 million: University of Phoenix Stadium.

### OLD NAMES DIE HARD

Some ballparks are forever. Most Chicago White Sox partisans still refer to home as Comiskey Park, which was demolished in '91, not U.S. Cellular Field. To S.F. 49ers fans, Monster Park will always be Candlestick.

ILLUSTRATION  
FOR TIME BY  
JOHN CORBITT

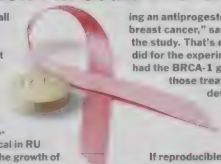
## The Abortion Pill Could Prevent Cancer

**I**t may seem odd to call RU 486—the prescription-only abortion pill—pro-life, but it may be just that when it comes to cancer. Researchers at the University of California at Irvine reported last week that mifepristone, the active chemical in RU 486, can help thwart the growth of mammary tumors in mice caused by the mutant gene BRCA-1. More than half of women with this gene will develop breast or ovarian cancer by age 70.

In women with BRCA-1, the naturally occurring female hormone progesterone speeds the proliferation of mammary cells. "If we block the progesterone pathway us-

ing an antiprogesterone, it could prevent breast cancer," says Eva Lee, lead author of the study. That's exactly what mifepristone did for the experiment's mice, all of which had the BRCA-1 gene. At age 1, none of those treated with mifepristone had developed tumors. But all the untreated mice had tumors by the time they were 8 months old.

If reproducible in humans, the results of the study could pave the way toward preventing these cancers in women who have genetic predispositions. "Today women are advised to have frequent breast examinations and mammograms," Lee says. "But I hope that one day, if we have a more specific antiprogesterone, that we can use drugs for prevention." —C.S.



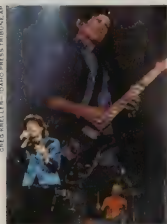
NUMBERS

**\$7.044 trillion** Total income reported by Americans in 2004, down 1.4% from 2000, according to new IRS data

**\$53,974** Average income reported by U.S. taxpayers in 2004, down 3% from 2000

**38,000** Number of Ford employees—about 46% of the automaker's unionized workforce—who have agreed this year to take buyouts or early-retirement offers worth as much as \$140,000 apiece

**\$7 billion** Amount Ford will spend on the buyouts and other restructuring efforts. The company does not expect to be profitable again until at least 2009



**\$437 million** Ticket sales tallied so far by the Rolling Stones for their aptly named A Bigger Bang world tour, which is the top-grossing concert tour ever

**\$377 million** Estimated total sales for the previous record holder, U2's Vertigo tour, which ends this week

**244** Bowling score—including eight strikes—earned last week by legally blind Esther Medley of Centralia, Wash., the second-highest score this year in her league

**94** Medley's age

Sources: IRS, New York Times, Detroit Free Press (2), Billboard (2), Associated Press (2)

PUNCHLINES

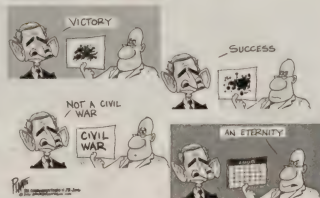


“And here’s probably why you folks aren’t feeling so good: Pamela Anderson and Kid Rock? Well, they’re getting a divorce—sad news. You know, it was a brief marriage. Friends actually noticed that the couple started drifting apart during the ceremony.”

DAVID LETTERMAN

“Michael Jackson is planning to follow in the footsteps of Madonna and Angelina Jolie and do charity work in Africa. Jackson says he wants to get to Africa soon—before all the good kids are taken.”

CONAN O'BRIEN



“Amid this environment of treachery, the President visited one of his last bastions of support, the Baltic states, whose love for America clearly indicates we’re better than Stalinist Russia.”

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\*Based on edmunds.com data as of 9/25/06 and EPA-estimated 18 mpg/city and 24 mpg/hwy for Pilot 2WD. <sup>†</sup>*Car and Driver*, 2006. © 2006 American Honda Motor Co., Inc.

## Milestones

**OVERTURNED.** The conviction of **Derek Tice, 36**, one of the "Norfolk Four" Navy sailors found guilty of the 1997 rape and murder of a Navy wife; by a judge who ruled that police had violated Tice's Miranda rights in obtaining his confession; in Norfolk, Va. Tice, who is serving a life sentence, and three other sailors claimed they confessed falsely under police coercion. A fifth convicted man—the only one linked to the crime by DNA—says the sailors were not involved. A judge will rule on Dec. 20 on whether Tice should be released.

► **DIED. Dave Cockrum, 63**, comic-book illustrator whose characters revitalized the *X-Men* in the '70s and helped build the title into a lucrative colossus, spawning toys, video games and a film franchise; of complications from diabetes; in Belton, S.C. Cockrum, who grew



**DIED. Allen Carr, 72**, one-time accountant and five-pack-a-day smoker who, in 1983, gave up cigarettes and fashioned himself into

up reading *Captain Marvel*, got his big break inking DC Comics' *Legion of Super-Heroes* strip. After moving to Marvel, he created, with writer Len Wein, such X-Men as the weather-manipulating Storm, below, who was played by Halle Berry on the big screen. When asked why he worked in comics rather than another art form, he said, "Where else can you blow up entire galaxies, or hurtle through space on a tiny surfboard, or travel to other dimensions, or meet the most outlandish alien beings, on the minuscule budget we get to work with?"

a smoking-cessation guru, penning the best seller *The Easy Way to Stop Smoking*; of lung cancer, near Malaga, Spain. Carr believed smoking was less physically addictive than usually thought and that the main obstacle to quitting was psychological. He later applied his fear-conquering strategies to other concerns, writing books on the easy way to stop worrying and to control alcohol consumption.

**DIED. Bernard Rimland, 78**, psychologist who pioneered modern autism research and advocacy and founded the Autism Society of America; in El Cajon, Calif. In 1958, Rimland diagnosed autism in his 2-year-old son Mark with the help of a college textbook. The personal discovery led to a professional crusade. "This was war," he later wrote. In 1964, he published *Infantile Autism*, a landmark book that argued autism had biochemical roots and upended the then conventional wisdom that it was a child's response to "refrigerator mothers" who didn't show adequate affection. An adviser to the makers of *Rain Man*—his son was a model for Dustin Hoffman's Oscar-winning 1988 turn as an autistic savant—Rimland also controversially claimed metals like mercury could trigger autism and vitamins could help treat it.

**DIED. William Diehl, 81**, late-starting novelist who penned popular, mayhem-ridden novels including *Sharky's Machine* and *Primal Fear*; in Atlanta. A decorated World War II veteran, he got a job as an obituary writer at the *Atlanta Constitution* after the war, then became a reporter and freelance photographer. His move into fiction was inspired in part by boredom—he began writing *Sharky's Machine*, his first novel, at age 50, while serving as a juror. His fast-paced thrillers translated easily to film—Burt Reynolds played the title character in the 1981 adaptation of *Sharky's Machine*, and Edward Norton earned an Oscar nomination for playing the cunning young murderer of an archbishop in *Primal Fear*.



**INAUGURATED. Felipe Calderón, 44**, as President of Mexico; after winning a July election by a margin of 0.56% over leftist Andres Manuel López Obrador, who has refused to concede; in Mexico City. An hour before the conservative Calderón took his oath in the congressional chamber, legislators allied with López Obrador—who has set up a parallel government—brawled with Calderón partisans and barricaded doors in an attempt to delay the ceremony. In his inaugural address, Calderón called for unity, saying, "To those who voted for others, I will not ignore your causes. I ask you to let me win over your confidence."

▼ **DIED. Robert McFerrin, 85**, baritone who in 1955 became the first black man to sing in the New York Metropolitan Opera's company; in St. Louis, Mo. Forbidden as a youth by his Baptist-preacher father from singing anything but gospel, McFerrin—later followed into music by his son Bobby (*Don't Worry, Be Happy*)—also dubbed the sung vocals for Sidney Poitier's Porgy in the 1959 film version of *Porgy and Bess*.

**DIED. Bebe Moore Campbell, 56**, commentator, essayist and author whose celebrated novels, including *Your Blues Ain't Like Mine*, examined America's race and class divides and opened a window into the lives of upwardly mobile blacks; of brain cancer; in Los Angeles. Literature left an early mark on Campbell. Her mother believed memorization was key to education, and pushed her to commit to memory passages ranging from Psalm 23 to Shakespeare to Paul Laurence Dunbar's poetry. Education remained a theme in Campbell's life. She taught elementary school for five years before turning fully to writing but never truly left her earlier profession. Her lyrical works were laden with all-the-moment social lessons—1994's *Brothers and Sisters* explored racial tension in post-Rodney King L.A. In her books, she said, "I try to impart a message."



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Joe Klein

# The Absurdity of It All

**W**HAT ON EARTH HAPPENED LAST WEEK? THERE WERE ALL sorts of leaks, rumblings and vibrations leading up to President George W. Bush's hastily arranged meeting with Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki. Something was up. There was a crisis. Dramatic action was indicated. The President was anxious to go on the offensive after the Democratic election victories and before the Baker-Hamilton Iraq Study Group report. He was going to press al-Maliki to do something unpleasant—perhaps move against the most powerful Shiite militia, the Mahdi Army led by

Muqtada al-Sadr. Al-Maliki seemed to be resisting Bush's pressure. He snubbed the President, refusing to meet him in the evening.

And then... nothing. The two men met for breakfast. They had a press conference. Bush said al-Maliki was the "right guy" to run Iraq, an endorsement that may slide into history along with "Brownie, you're doing a heck of a job" and Bush's recent, full-throated pre-election support for Donald Rumsfeld. Bush also said in a petulant tone that U.S. forces would stay in Iraq "until the job is complete."

Afterward, Iraqi and U.S. diplomatic spinners asserted that al-Sadr's name had barely come up in the discussions. That Bush hadn't pushed al-Maliki on anything. That al-Maliki had in fact pushed Bush for more control over the Iraqi security forces.

Excuse me, but I'm not sure I understand: the President of the United States flew halfway across the world to stubbornly renew his "stay the course" rhetoric only to be snubbed and pressured by an incompetent, powerless U.S. client whose government seemed in danger of collapse? Given the absurdity of the situation, Washington was aflutter with speculative scenarios.

Scenario 1: The President really intended to pressure al-Maliki on al-Sadr and failed. There is a lot of circumstantial evidence for this. There were two spectacular—one might even say suspicious—front-page news leaks in the *New York Times* in the days before the summit. First there was the report that Hizballah was training members of al-Sadr's militia. This placed in one bull's-eye almost all Bush's favorite evildoers—Hizballah; Iran and Syria (which support Hizballah); and al-Sadr, whose Shi'ite organization has been responsible for much of the recent violence against Sunnis in Iraq. The slap-Sadr scenario had some powerful covert supporters, especially among Sunni governments. The Saudis had summoned Dick Cheney to Riyadh on Nov. 25 in order to convey, among other things, their distress with the rise of "Iranian-backed Shi'ite militias... butchering Iraqi Sunnis," as Nawaf Obaid, a Saudi security expert, put it in a Washington *Post* Op-Ed piece last week. Obaid threatened "massive Saudi intervention" in Iraq to prevent "a full-blown ethnic-cleansing cam-

paign" against Sunnis if the U.S. cut and ran.

The slap-Sadr scenario was reinforced by the second *New York Times* leak—a memo from National Security Adviser Stephen Hadley to the President, in which Hadley expressed despair over al-Maliki's incompetence. "He impressed me as a leader who wanted to be strong, but was having difficulty figuring out how to do so," Hadley wrote. The conventional assumption was that this was a purposeful White House leak, sending the message that Bush wanted al-Maliki to allow U.S. forces to move against the Mahdi Army,

a step that al-Maliki has resisted so far—and with good reason, since al-Sadr has been al-Maliki's prime source of support in the Iraqi governing coalition. But if the leak of the Hadley memo was some sort of awkward Bush strategy, it failed. Al-Maliki refused to sup with Bush. They breakfasted—and it's possible bread was broken only after the White House agreed not to push on al-Sadr. The body language between the two men was dire. Bush seemed severely ticked off during the press conference.

Scenario 2: Maybe the leaks weren't organized and didn't come

from the White House. The *Times* stories were reported by Michael Gordon, the paper's chief military correspondent. The source for the Hizballah story was "a senior American intelligence official," which often means military intelligence; the CIA usually asks reporters not to identify its senior officials that way. There is a small, but not insignificant, faction in the U.S. military that thinks the only way to stabilize Baghdad is to forcibly disarm al-Sadr's militia. The Hizballah story may have been unofficial, second-tier military lobbying. And the Hadley memo? "A parting gift from Don Rumsfeld," guessed an Iraq expert with close ties to the White House. "He's the only one who had access and motivation. The



Bush seems none too happy to see al-Maliki

memo proves his point: it's the political process, not the military operation, that's the problem in Iraq." Would Rumsfeld be so spiteful as to embarrass the President like that? We'll probably never know.

It may be that the President's agenda for the al-Maliki meeting was a relatively simple public relations ploy: to show support for a weak Iraqi partner and—with the Baker-Hamilton report looming—to reassert that Bush will be the "decider" on Iraq strategy. But even that simple mission failed. The President looked foolish. Nothing he did last week slowed the collapse of Iraq. Nothing he did bolstered his political standing at home or in the region. Nothing he did showed the slightest indication that he accepted reality in Iraq. ■



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TIME

# CAN BUSH FIND AN EXIT?



Calls for a staged withdrawal from Iraq are forcing the President to contemplate the biggest U-turn of his political life. Here's why he's likely to make it

By Michael Duffy

**AWKWARD DUO** Bush with al-Maliki in Amman the day after the Iraqi leader had stood him up

Photograph for TIME by  
Brooks Kraft—Corbis

**G**EORGE BUSH HAS A HISTORY OF LONG-OVERDUE U-TURNS. He waited until he woke up, hungover, one morning at age 40 before giving up booze cold. He fought the idea of a homeland-security agency for eight months after 9/11 and then scampered aboard and called it his idea. He dumped Donald Rumsfeld last month as Defense Secretary, although lawmakers and even some generals had been calling for his head since 2005. Bush's biggest reversals usually come after months—even years—of stubborn resistance, when just about everyone has given up on his having any second thoughts at all. That's always been the point: he's a decider, he says, and deciders aren't supposed to undecide. When he does have to Kojak the car and head down the street in the opposite direction, he takes a little extra time getting it done.

But Bush has never had to pull off a U-turn like the one he is contemplating now: to give up on his dream of turning Babylon into an oasis of freedom and democracy and instead begin a staged

withdrawal from Iraq, rewrite the mission of the 150,000 U.S. troops there as they begin to draw down, and launch a diplomatic Olympics across the Middle East and between Israel and the Palestinians. Even calling all that a reversal is a misnomer; it would be more like a personality transplant.

So it may take the 43rd President a little more time than it normally does to execute this particular U-turn. And he will do all he can to make it look more like a lane change. But sometime in the next month or so, Bush will begin the biggest foreign policy course correction of his presidency. No matter what else may get stapled onto it, the maneuver will be based on the agreement reached by the bipartisan commission led by former Secretary of State James Baker III and former Indiana Congressman Lee Hamilton. Bush aides said last week that there is already agreement on the name for the restart: A New Way Forward, which borrows from the commission's own title, The Way Forward—New Approach. Among people who have known Bush for decades, there is almost as much certainty that he needs to disengage from Iraq as there are doubts about whether he has the wiring and instincts—much less the desire—to pull it off. "He is not stupid," says a commission source. "But he is stubborn. And he is very dug in. It takes a big person to find a way to walk back from some of this and embrace reality."

THE PRESIDENT IS ABOUT TO GET A LOT OF reality therapy. The Baker-Hamilton commission's work has been compared to a fam-

ily intervention for a substance-addicted cousin, but unlike those encounters, this one won't remain behind closed doors. The entire 10-person commission will brief the President this Wednesday and then repeat the lesson for congressional leaders, both incoming and outgoing, later the same day. What happens next is designed to be even more convincing: several days of nonstop interviews on every media outlet, network and cable-TV station—a media blitz that will run well into the Sunday-morning news programs.

Of course some people don't like being rescued, and there is little reason to think that Bush or anyone around him is going to enjoy the visit by the Baker-Hamilton emergency squad. While there will be no lights flashing or sirens wailing, the commission is proposing nothing short of a repudiation of pretty much all U.S. foreign policy for the past three years. The Iraq Study Group will call for a massive diplomatic push in two areas in which the White House has never put its shoulder to the grindstone: rekindling peace talks between Palestinians and Israelis and holding an international conference that would lead to direct talks between Washington and both Tehran and Damascus. The commission agreed that the political turmoil inside Iraq could only be sorted out with the cooperation of neighboring countries, particularly Syria, Turkey, Iran and Saudi Arabia, which have the strongest ties to the Shi'ite and Sunni groups propelling Iraq ever deeper into civil war.

The study group's military proposals

are performance based: they would link a staged withdrawal from Iraq by U.S. forces to stronger actions by the struggling Iraqi government. The report does not set a timetable for troop reductions, but it is expected to offer Baghdad a slower withdrawal if the government takes steps to end the violence. If Baghdad cannot make that happen, the troops would depart at an even faster rate. The genius of the approach is that if security returns as a consequence of this squeeze play, the need for U.S. troops will presumably also decrease. Says an expert who briefed the panel on the idea of trading troops for cooperation: "Unless we





## THE EXIT STRATEGY

Medics carry U.S. soldiers into the hospital at Camp Ramadi. The Baker-Hamilton panel, it is thought, aims to spare more U.S. blood by promising the Iraqi government a lifeline if it will take real steps to end the violence

use our withdrawal as leverage against reduced violence, anything we do will be drained away in the sands of an ineffective central government." That is why, either way, the report envisions, but stops short of stating flatly, that troop withdrawals should begin sometime next year.

These proposals will push Bush's buttons because they come from outsiders. Vice President Dick Cheney in particular has long resisted outside interference in foreign policy. But last week it was internal interference that upended the Administration's best-laid plans. Bush had no sooner arrived in Amman, Jordan, for talks with

Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki than the New York Times published the full text of a memo to Bush from his National Security Adviser Stephen Hadley portraying al-Maliki as isolated, powerless and out of touch with the realities of his country and unable to affect them. This is hardly surprising for a man who can barely leave his home without American logistical support, but the leaked memo from somewhere in the Bush Administration sank the President's plans for a take-charge summit. Al-Maliki abruptly canceled his planned meeting with Bush—a snub for which there is no well-known precedent—and waited





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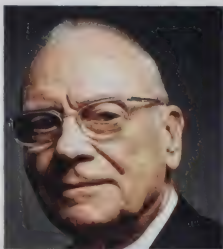
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until the following morning to have breakfast and a shortened, 45-min. session with him. There was little chemistry in that encounter; by all accounts al-Maliki looked sour and lost. During a short photo break, al-Maliki refused to look at Bush, and the President had to initiate a handshake between them. Ignoring the previous day's discourtesy, Bush declared al-Maliki "the right guy for Iraq," a thumbs-up that did nothing for the Prime Minister's credibility at home, where an endorsement from the U.S. President may be the kiss of death. Bush then offered his first official reaction to the Baker-Hamilton proposals. "There's a lot of speculation that these reports in Washington mean there's going to be some kind of graceful exit out of Iraq. We're going to stay in Iraq to get the job done, so long as the government wants us there. This business about graceful exit just simply has no realism to it at all."

#### INSIDE THE COMMISSION

REALISM WAS EXACTLY WHAT THE PEOPLE who cooked up the commission had in mind when they set the bipartisan operation in motion more than a year ago. The review began as an earmark—a \$1 million insertion into an appropriations bill by Republican Representative Frank Wolf of Virginia, who had gone to Iraq last year and decided U.S. policy wasn't working or, as he put it, needed "fresh eyes." He slotted the money to the U.S. Institute of Peace, whose president, Richard Solomon, joined two CEOs Wolf trusted to organize the study: David Abshire, of the Center for the Study of the Presidency, and John Hamre, who runs the Center for Strategic and International Studies. Those three settled on Baker and Hamilton as chairmen. Hamilton agreed, but Baker wanted Bush's blessing—and he wanted to let Bush know he might not like the outcome.

To bring Bush aboard, Solomon, Hamre and Abshire approached the one person in Bushland who still had a reputation for realism and who could command the President's ear, alone: Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice. Would she propose the commission to the President? After some hesitation, Rice agreed, but she made one re-



#### THE ARCHITECTS

Hamilton, above, promptly accepted the top spot he was offered; Baker, below, sought the President's approval before signing on, anticipating a change in strategy that he knew Bush might not be eager to adopt



quest: the commission had to look forward, not backward, in part because she knew the dysfunctional Bush foreign policy operation, tilted as it was so heavily along the Cheney-Rumsfeld axis, would not permit, much less sustain, scrutiny. As the trio departed, a Rice aide asked one of her suitors not to inform anyone at the Pentagon that chairmen had been chosen and the study group was moving forward. If Rumsfeld was alerted to the study group's potential impact, the aide said, he would quickly tell Cheney, who could, with a few words, scuttle the whole thing. Rice got through to Bush the next day, arguing that the thing was going to happen anyway, so he might as well get on board. To his credit, the President agreed.

After rejecting every name that Solomon & Co. proposed, Baker and Hamilton were left to choose their own panelists, and the commission went to work, gathering evidence, making a trip to Baghdad and hearing from more than 100 experts. Retired Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor developed a reputation for asking the best questions. Democratic power broker Vernon Jordan emerged as the group's political sage. Former Bill Clinton Defense chief William Perry cornered the military options—and would be a holdout on the final deal. In October, as the number of casualties in Iraq exploded, public support for Bush dropped through the floor. When Democrats swept the November elections, aides to several panelists told TIME that the commission would have more room to make sweeping proposals. Rumsfeld's resignation the next day cemented that feeling—which is not to say the commission thought it had any perfect solutions. "We did not think there were any good options on Iraq," one of the experts told TIME. "What we're really looking at are less-bad options."

But instead of making things easier, the elections actually made them harder. After Bush replaced Rumsfeld with Robert Gates, a member of the Baker-Hamilton commission who had served the first President Bush as head of the CIA, the psychoanalysis rampant in the media about Daddy's team coming back to save the prodigal son steamed everyone at the White House, from the President on down, and led the Administration

to dig in its heels. Says a Baker confidant: "Everything that happened on Election Day made for extra work." It wasn't long before senior Administration officials were whispering that the diplomatic proposals coming out of Baker's shop would never fly. Realizing that with Gates moving to the Pentagon, the study group's report may have more impact than they had first thought, Democrats from all quarters began bombarding their allies on the panel with advice about how to stage an organized withdrawal and pressing for a precise drawdown timetable. Baker, who was in touch with the White House, resisted.

Meanwhile, Iraq kept deteriorating, and there was a risk that the panel's proposals would be obsolete before consensus was reached. "It overshadowed everything," says an aide to one member. "They were constantly dealing with new developments over there." Baker turned up last Monday with a draft report he wanted panel members to consider or amend and then get into the President's hands. Democrats led by Hamilton, Perry and Leon Panetta, Clinton's ex-chief of staff, were adamant that the report recommend a firm starting point for troop withdrawals. When the Republicans again refused, members agreed on language that would leave the date vague but the vector clear. And then the group adjourned.

#### THE ENDGAME

THE HOT WORD IN WASHINGTON THESE days is *bandwidth*, as in, Does this Administration have the bandwidth to solve all these problems? Even those who back the Baker plan worry about whether there is anyone inside the Administration who can carry it out. There is widespread doubt that the Bush team is emotionally or ideologically able to execute a plan that is so at odds with its collective instincts and that many of its supporters might resist. Of particular concern to members of the study group is the state of the U.S. State Department. Although Rice has restored some of the department's lost influence since replacing Colin Powell, she is currently working without a deputy and has had trouble filling that post. Her top lawyer, Philip Zelikow, is leaving soon, and there is a wide

variety of people who wonder whether she—or anyone else—could amass the clout to take on both the Middle East and Iraq security talks in the time that is left to this Administration. That's one reason there are growing calls for a special envoy to the region who can hold all the reins in one hand. Some have even suggested that Bush try to persuade Baker to stay on and take up one last mission for his country.

Bush will put a few weeks between the big Baker-Hamilton rollout and his own restart. White House officials worry that anything faster would look too reactive—a curious instinct, given the public's overwhelming desire for change and the posi-

But the White House won't wait for the Baker-Hamilton road show to signal that it is changing course. A White House official told TIME over the weekend that the new path the President will outline in coming weeks is "significantly different than what we've been doing. When the President says we're going to get the job done, that doesn't suggest it is an open-ended commitment forever." The inevitability of serious change, it emerges, had become clear even to one so dug in as Rumsfeld. The New York Times reported last week that two days before he was ousted, the Defense Secretary submitted a memo to the White House saying the Iraq strategy was failing and calling for "major adjustment," including possible troop pullbacks.

To seize the initiative, the White House announced a series of new diplomatic actions of its own, inviting Abdul Aziz al-Hakim, head of Iraq's leading Shi'ite party, and Tariq al-Hashemi, the Sunni Vice President, to Washington over the next few weeks as part of an effort to deepen connections to a greater variety of Iraqi political figures. And aides say Bush may call for what were already being dubbed "reciprocal obligations" with the Iraqi government: trading troop deployments for progress on sectarian violence, just as Baker and Hamilton are expected to propose. But there will be no ultimatums. A senior Administration official says, "Bush's plan is eventually going to call for reductions in troops. They're going to do whatever they can to get the security to a level at which it's sustainable so that at some point they can start to draw down the troop levels."

And that points to the biggest weaknesses in any rescue plan. Whether it is the Baker approach or whatever the White House decides to call its own, events in Iraq could easily make any plan for diplomacy and withdrawal irrelevant in the face of a weak central government, a deepening civil war and widespread violence. A commission official put it this way: "What we have produced is a plan for December. We have no idea what things are going to look like in February." —*With reporting by Mike Allen, Massimo Calabresi, Sally B. Donnelly, Elaine Shannon, Douglas Waller and Adam Zagorin/Washington and Aparisim Ghosh/Baghdad*



#### THE FIGHTERS

Militant Iraqi Shi'ite supporters of Muqtada al-Sadr march at a rally in Najaf. To help stem escalating violence, the Baker-Hamilton panel urges more active regional diplomacy

tive response Bush received when he tossed Rumsfeld over the side after the elections. Says a former government official who has known Bush for 20 years: "If he is going to take political advantage of things he might have done anyhow, why not do them fast instead of slow?" It may be that the President is not yet ready to answer the obvious question when the strategy changes: What is the new definition of success? Bush himself teed that up when he told reporters in October, "You all got to understand, and the parents of our troops must understand, that if I didn't believe we could succeed and didn't believe it was necessary for the security of this country to succeed, I wouldn't have your loved ones there."

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Aparisim Ghosh

# What We Would Leave Behind

If the U.S. goes, the Iraqis won't stop shooting. They'll still have each other

**W**HAT WOULD HAPPEN TO IRAQ IF WASHINGTON FOLLOWS the recommendations of the Iraq Study Group? The group's underlying assumption is that Iraqi forces will be ready to take over from the U.S. military by early 2008. To test that thesis, it is instructive to look at parts of southern Iraq from which coalition forces have already been withdrawn. There Shi'ite militias backed by Iran have taken control, intimidating government forces into submission and terrorizing Sunnis. On several occasions Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki, a Shi'ite, has had to plead with radical Shi'ite cleric Muqtada al-Sadr to restrain his fighters from killing soldiers and police—with limited results.

If the Iraqi government can't stop sectarian killing today when it is able to call on the world's most powerful military, it can hardly be expected to do so once the Americans have left. The more likely outcome is an escalation of the civil war, with elements of the security forces taking sides. The Shi'ite militias will enjoy numerical superiority and the continued surreptitious backing of Shi'ite Iran. But what the Sunni insurgents lack in numbers, they make up for in greater killing experience. Their suicide bombers, fighters and improvised explosive devices are responsible for the overwhelming majority of the 2,800-plus U.S. deaths in Iraq. And the Sunnis have friends. The U.S. has long accused Syria of harboring both Iraqi Baathists and jihadis of various nationalities who infiltrate Iraq to make mischief. And Iraqi officials routinely claim that the insurgency receives money and men from extremist organizations in neighboring Sunni-majority countries like Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Jordan.

Those countries can't afford to be seen as openly supporting groups responsible for killing Americans. But if the Americans depart, the dynamic changes. Nawaf Obaid, a security adviser to the government of Saudi Arabia, warned last week that if the U.S. withdraws from Iraq, Riyadh will intervene to protect the Sunnis from the Shi'ites. In an Op-Ed in the *Washington Post*, he said the Saudis would probably supply the Sunni insurgency with money, arms and logistical support. Quiet intervention is always an option: Iraq's porous borders are ideal for smuggling cash, weapons and jihadis.

As talk of withdrawal has gathered momentum in recent weeks, some Sunni groups dedicated to fighting U.S. troops have already begun to recalibrate their gunsights. One of the largest Sunni insurgent groups, Islamic Army, dramatically changed course last week and called on its followers to wage a "battle of destiny" against Shi'ites for control of Baghdad. Only a year ago, the studiously nationalistic and nonsectarian group vehemently opposed al-Qaeda leader Abu Mousab al-Zarqawi's call for a holy war against Iraqi Shi'ites.

With the U.S. gone, the intensified fighting would probably be internecine as well as sectarian. Shi'ite militias in the south have shown a propensity to fight one another, as have Sunni groups in the volatile Anbar province. Iraq could look very much like Afghanistan after the 1989 withdrawal of Soviet troops—sectarian or ethnic warlords battling for territory, with the backing of sponsors from neighboring countries. An Afghanistans-style civil war would provide international terrorist groups like al-Qaeda and Hizballah with fertile ground in which to recruit, train and battle-test a new generation of global jihadis.

One set of Iraqis would be targeted by all sides: the tens of thousands who have worked closely with the Americans—as translators, fixers, drivers, cooks, clerks, cleaners and managers. Both Sunni and Shi'ite extremists have repeatedly warned Iraqis that collaborating with the occupiers is punishable by execution, and many have already been killed merely because they were suspected of working with the Americans.

Can America save Iraq from itself? Yes, but it would require giving up the illusion that the Iraqis can fix their own problems. They can't. The Americans created this mess; it's their responsibility to fix it. They'd need 30,000 more coalition soldiers and a real willingness to trash the Shi'ite militias, something they've avoided so far. Having foolishly dismantled the existing Iraqi army, the U.S. has the duty to create a genuinely proficient new one, instead of rushing recruits through Boy Scout lessons just to satisfy predetermined quotas. It may take five more years. But if the U.S. leaves sooner, Iraq will devolve into an even bigger mess. If the Americans insist on pulling out, they ought to park their hardware nearby, because like it or not, they'll be back. ■



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**MEALS OF HONOR** The highest combat awards, from left, for the Navy, Air Force and Army



# Iraq: The War Without Honors

U.S. troops are fighting and dying with valor. So why have so few received the military's top awards?

By SALLY B. DONNELLY

**A**RE THERE FEWER HEROES IN THE IRAQ war than in previous wars? That's the message the Pentagon is sending, say critics, by not awarding today's soldiers nearly as many of the nation's highest military honors. Three and a half years of combat in Iraq, for example, have produced only two winners of the Medal of Honor, the country's highest military award for bravery in combat. There were, by contrast, 464 Medals of Honor handed out during America's involvement in World War II, which lasted the same amount of time. If the government had been as stingy then as it is now, adjusting for the number of Americans who served, there would have been only 30 Medals of Honor won in the fight against fascism. The same applies to the second highest honor, the service crosses: there were 8,716 of those given out during World War II and just 26 so far in Iraq.

So what's different in this war? For one thing, the process for getting medals has become more cumbersome. Some commanders are reacting against what they see as medal inflation in recent wars, especially Gulf War I. And there may be fewer opportunities for Audie Murphy-style heroics when your enemy is planting improvised ex-

plosive devices (IEDs) or driving a car bomb. But the nearly 3,000 war dead testify to the peril of those fighting in Iraq, and a growing chorus has been speaking out against the Pentagon's parsimony. They're asking why there have not been more elite medals and why there have been huge disparities in the number of awards given by different branches of the military. "We need to look into the criteria used and the timing. There are obvious inequities," says Congressman John McHugh, a Republican from New York.

The House Armed Services Subcommittee on Military Personnel that McHugh chairs is launching an inquiry this week into the way medals have been awarded in Iraq. The Department of Defense may be required to issue new standards or even reopen cases in which medals have been turned down or downgraded. The Pentagon, meanwhile, says it needed its own review to consider how combat—and how the military quantifies heroism—has changed since 9/11. It is considering whether there should be new

guidelines set for consistency across the services. The Army, for example, has displayed a stunning generosity in handing out the mid-level Bronze Star medals: it has given out an astonishing 52,000 since 9/11, compared with fewer than 1,500 for the Marines.

Some critics think a kind of political correctness may be at play in the military. Says retired Lieut. Colonel Steve Russell, an infantry officer who served in Iraq: "Many senior officers who decide these awards have succumbed to the notion that every soldier is doing a great job and no one should be held out as better than another."

At the same time, some commanders have raised the bar for the highest awards because they say they have seen medals handed out too easily in the past. Army Lieut. General Tom Metz says he remembers clearly how a few soldiers in Vietnam took advantage of the system and won "air ribbons" often simply for taking flights in country. "[In Iraq] I was an award approver for all but the top two awards, and I was tough," says Metz, who authorized a handful of Silver Stars during his two years in Iraq. "I am confident those who got an award with my signature on it earned it."

Perhaps the biggest reason for the scarcity of top medals is the nature of combat in this war, which is so different from that of previous conflicts. The old saying about waiting to see the whites of the enemy's eyes before shooting doesn't apply when that enemy is a quarter of a mile

away, looking at you through binoculars to see when to detonate the IED. Yet there are soldiers in Iraq—and Afghanistan—whose valor at least equals that of past generations of Americans. On April 14, 2004, several Marines were manning a checkpoint in western Iraq when an insurgent jumped out of a car and grabbed Jason Dunham, 22, by the throat. When the Iraqi dropped a live grenade during their struggle, the young Marine jumped on it so that his body would absorb

the blast, saving the lives of his comrades. He died eight days later. Dunham was awarded the Iraq war's second Medal of Honor last month. It will be presented to his family at the White House by President George W. Bush on Jan. 11.

# 464

The number of Medals of Honor handed out during World War II

# 2

The number awarded during the Iraq war, over the same length of time

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# WHAT I DID ON MY TRAVELS

Two weeks of globetrotting gives the President a chance to see the world—and escape from gloating Democrats

By MIKE ALLEN

THERE WERE PLENTY OF REMINDERS of why President Bush doesn't relish traveling abroad. In Moscow, the VIP terminal's red carpet turned out to be just a wide stripe of red paint on the Tarmac. In Jordan, all the King's men formed a wild motorcade, their vehicles nearly crashing into one another as they jostled for position trying to snap photos of the presidential limousine. In between were five other countries for a total of some 37,000 miles and 56 events.

But if there was ever a good time for George W. Bush to leave home for a spell, it was right after the mid-term elections, when Capitol Hill was aswarm with triumphant Democrats. He spent two weeks abroad, separated by a brief Thanksgiving interlude at Camp David. Air Force One, the Boeing 747 that has its own medical facility, among other amenities, circled the globe twice, serving Swiss burgers and taco salad, with snickerdoodles for dessert. On the ground in Amman, the White House staff did grapple with local dishes like chicken *frikah* and homemade *knafeh*. The President and First Lady Laura Bush watched a replay of the Michigan-Ohio State game onboard during a 36-hour day that saw the couple in Ho Chi Minh City, Jakarta and across the international date line on their way to Hickam Air Force Base adjoining Pearl Harbor.

European leaders expecting a humbled Bush at the NATO summit in Latvia instead got a stout speech in which he rearticulated his foreign policy. "We must advance freedom," he said, "as the great alternative to tyranny and terror." When kids in Indonesia asked his hobby, he replied, "Baseball—sports" and told them to go easy on TV. He got his most enthusiastic reception in Vietnam, as curious onlookers lined the roads and waved at his passing motorcade. There was much the country and the visiting dignitary had in common. Neither has much appetite for looking back at the difficulties of the past. Far better to stay on the move.



Photographs for TIME by Brooks Kraft—Corbis



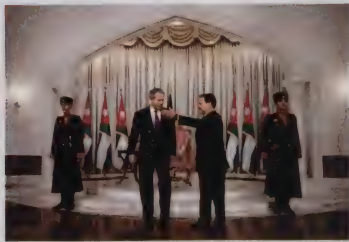
## Vietnam

On a street in Ho Chi Minh City, locals clutch Bush photos given out by White House staff. He was warmly received there



## Singapore

At the Asian Civilizations Museum, Bush watches students perform and sits in with a Javanese gamelan orchestra



## Jordan

Bush is welcomed at Raghaden Palace by King Abdullah II. One sour note: Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki stood them up



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WORLD

# LOSING LEBANON

The U.S. once saw it as a hope for democracy in the Middle East. Now the country is veering toward civil war. Here's how it all went wrong

By **TIM MCGIRK** BEIRUT

IT'S NEVER A GOOD SIGN FOR A COUNTRY when the Prime Minister and most of his Cabinet members spend their days barricaded in an Ottoman-era compound. That's what Fouad Siniora and Lebanon's other top officials have done since Nov. 21, when gunmen assassinated Industry Minister Pierre Gemayel in broad daylight. Siniora's worries go beyond his personal safety. With Lebanon still trying to recover from last summer's 34-day war between Israel and the Shi'ite militant group Hizballah, the government has seen its authority undermined, renewed meddling from the country's neighbors and the growing assertiveness of Hizballah. Organized by

Hizballah and its allies, about 800,000 protesters—a rather grand figure in a country of just 3.8 million—gathered in the center of Beirut last Friday to demand the resignation of Siniora. At the time, Lebanon's leader was in his barracks, surrounded by machine guns and barbed wire.

Lebanon wasn't supposed to turn out this way. In March of last year, President George W. Bush was hailing Lebanon as a shining beacon of his Administration's "democracy agenda" for the Middle East. Close to 1 million Lebanese had flooded into Beirut to demand that Syria pull its troops out of Lebanon and end its 29-year domination of the country. The U.S. State Department coined the protests the Cedar Revolution, a more folksy title than the

Lebanese term, Independence Intifadeh, which smacked of radicalism. But with six ministers having resigned since Nov. 11, sectarian tensions rising and government officials fearing for their lives, the vision of a new Lebanon is dimming fast—and with it, the Administration's bid to build a positive legacy in the Middle East beyond the wreckage of Iraq.

There are worrying signs, in fact, that Lebanon may be closer to a total meltdown than at any time since the 1975-90 civil war. An Arab diplomat told *TIME* that General Michael Suleiman, the commander in chief of the Lebanese Army, recently admitted that his troops would be able to contain a series of demonstrations "for only a few weeks." If Hizballah organizes protests around the country similar to those in





Beirut last week. "We will not be able to cope," Suleiman reportedly said. His concern was that because many of his troops are Shi'ite, they would refuse to act against their brethren within Hizballah.

The nightmare scenario is that Hizballah's show of strength could provoke a backlash against its mostly Shi'ite supporters by Lebanon's Sunni Muslim, Christian and Druze communities. If that happens, most Lebanese believe the situation could quickly escalate into all-out civil war. As a river of pro-Hizballah demonstrators flowed toward Siniora's besieged compound last week, poultry seller Ahmad Sahd, 65, wept. "These youngsters don't live through the civil war. I did. And it looks like it's starting again."

So why is the Cedar Revolution crash-

#### CONFRONTATION

As Lebanese soldiers brace for trouble, supporters of Hizballah and its leader, Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah, demand the resignation of Prime Minister Fouad Siniora in Beirut

ing down? Part of the answer rests outside Lebanon's borders. During the summer's war with Israel, Hizballah relied heavily on the Syrians for logistic, military and financial support. According to Israeli officials, Western diplomats in Beirut and Arab sources, Damascus acted as a conduit for Iranian weapons to reach Hizballah, allowing the group to fight the Israelis to a standstill.

Now it is payback time. Lebanese officials, along with Israeli military sources and Western diplomats, say that while Syrian President Bashar Assad may be willing to help pull the Bush Administration out of the Iraqi quicksand, he hopes to exact concessions that would allow him to treat Lebanon, where the Syrian regime has vast financial interests, as his private turf. And according to these same sources, he is unnerved by a U.N.-sponsored inquiry that implicates top Syrian officials in the February 2005 car bombing that killed former Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri and 22 others. Assad is hoping that the international probe will peter out. Indictments issued by a U.N.-sponsored court against members of the Syrian leadership could critically weaken the Damascus regime



and lead to U.N. sanctions against Assad's clique. Hizballah pulled its six ministers out of the 24-seat Cabinet rather than vote to support an international court to prosecute the Hariri case, and the assassination of Gemayel, the scion of a powerful Christian family and a fervent anti-Syrian, was seen as further warning to Siniora. His Cabinet voted anyway to recommend an international tribunal into the Hariri killing, pushing Hizballah into the streets last week.

Hizballah also accuses Siniora's ministers of secretly siding with Israel and the U.S. by failing to provide backup during the July-August war with Israel. With its massive street demonstrations, Hizballah hopes to intimidate the country's other parties into giving it more than the six Cabinet seats it had held, enabling it to block any legislation seen as contrary to the interests of Hizballah and its backers in Damascus and Tehran.

Whether Hizballah succeeds depends on how long it can capitalize on the p.r. boost it gained from waging war with Israel. Among Lebanon's down-trodden Shi'ites, Hizballah leader Sheik Hassan Nasrallah now enjoys mythical status. The many faces of Nasrallah appear everywhere. At times he is portrayed as a jolly preacher, a wise scholar or a glowering warrior with his turban like a black storm cloud overhead. When a starstruck woman requested the *abaya*, or robe, that he wore during the war, Nasrallah obliged, and since then TV crews have been following the woman across Lebanon as she displays this now holy garment for other faithful fans.

And yet even in Lebanon, Nasrallah isn't universally adored. Many Lebanese consider it a heroic but colossal blunder on Nasrallah's part to have provoked the Israelis by having his fighters stage a cross-border raid in July and kidnap two Israeli soldiers. War damage in Lebanon is assessed at \$3.6 billion. More than 1,200 Lebanese died, and 3,700 were wounded. Another 974,184 were left homeless. Says parliamentarian Saad Hariri, son of the slain former Prime Minister: "When it starts raining and getting cold, people will realize what a huge mistake it was for Hizballah to start this war." What's more,

the olive groves and hills of southern Lebanon are sown with more than 1 million bomblets from Israeli cluster bombs, say U.N. experts, making it hazardous if not lethal to wander into these areas.

Hizballah was badly swatted by the Israelis too. The Israeli military says it has the names of over 550 Hizballah fighters who were killed, including 400 belonging to the Iranian-trained elite special forces unit, the Nasr Brigade. In Lebanon, the thinking is that those numbers are probably inflated, that many of the dead were militants unaffiliated with Hizballah who

rubble of concrete slabs, steel and scraps of clothing was scooped up by bulldozers into heaps; it has added a dozen large hills to the coastal landscape south of Beirut.

Hizballah's opponents say that as time passes, resentments toward Nasrallah are likely to build. That may be the main reason that Hizballah is again girding for war. The next round could be even uglier. While most of the other communities still have stockpiles of arms stashed away from the days of the civil war, Hizballah's force is stronger and better organized than its rivals, say Beirut-based diplomats. But the various players in Lebanon may find outside backers. The Christians could again find support from the Israelis; and the Saudis, who are alarmed at the growing Shi'ite influence in Lebanon through Hizballah, may find Sunni militias to bankroll. Sunni jihadists may also join the fray, turning Lebanon into a mini-Iraq. Lebanese intelligence recently broke up a ring of 200 Syrian-backed Islamists holed up in a Palestinian refugee camp who had a hit list of 36 Lebanese politicians.

Posters of Nasrallah, usually grinning, may crop up everywhere, but the cleric himself is still deep in hiding. During the summer's fighting, the Israelis made no secret that they were trying to assassinate him. Western diplomats in Beirut say they are trying to persuade the Israelis that killing the Hizballah boss is no longer a good idea. His murder could spark reprisals across the Middle East. Hizballah has ways of taking revenge. After Israelis targeted a previous Hizballah leader in 1992, the militia blew up the Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires. Should Nasrallah be killed, Israeli missions today would be similarly at risk—as would U.S. interests around the world. But these sources say that the Israelis may be willing to court that danger if they have a chance to take out Nasrallah, whom they view as a particularly clever and dangerous enemy. The damage that Lebanon and the Middle East will face if another war breaks out could make the destruction caused by Hizballah and Israel last summer look like a brisk whirlwind by comparison. —With reporting by Nicholas Blanford/Beirut, Aaron J. Klein/Birani and Elaine Shannon/Washington



## DESTRUCTION

The village of Aitta Shaab in southern Lebanon was heavily damaged during the war with Israel last summer

grabbed a gun and joined the fighting. Whatever the body count, Hizballah has lost assets. As part of a cease-fire agreement, 10,000 U.N. peacekeepers and 15,000 Lebanese troops moved into southern Lebanon, long an exclusive preserve of Hizballah. As a result, Nasrallah's men lost possession of a number of strategic underground bunkers, complete with showers and dining halls, honeycombing the limestone hills for miles near the Israeli border. Many of its field commanders were killed in the fighting, and according to Lebanese and Israeli sources, Hizballah inquisitors are now weeding out and shooting suspected collaborators who helped the Israelis by pinpointing militia targets. And every Hizballah office in Beirut was sledge-hammered by Israeli warplanes. The



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## LETTER FROM LONDON

J.F.O. McAllister

# What are all those Russians up to?

The poisoning of an ex-spy sows doubt about the city's mysterious émigré elite

**A**LXANDER LITVINENKO WAS killed in a spectacularly unusual way, poisoned with a tiny dose of the radioactive element polonium-210. But the routine of the former KGB agent on the day he ingested the stuff—a shuttle among elegant hotels, a sushi bar and exclusive offices in the heart of London—would be familiar to any number of affluent Russians who make the city their home. London is 31% foreign born, profiting from successive waves of the ultrarich—American bankers, Arab sheiks, Hong Kong Chinese. Now the Litvinenko case is making some Brits wonder whether the city has turned into Moscow-on-Thames, overly populated by secret agents and those who have struck it lucky at the

roulette wheel of the former Soviet Union's rude, oil-soaked brand of capitalism.

"Londongrad" is a buzz with controversy in the wake of Litvinenko's ghoulish Nov. 23 demise and his deathbed accusation that his murder was ordered by Russian President Vladimir Putin. The Kremlin's denial of involvement was complicated by the discovery that former Russian Prime Minister Yegor Gaidar, a Putin critic, had fallen ill in Ireland the day after Litvinenko died. Gaidar has since tested negative for radiation poisoning. But Litvinenko's wife and an Italian security analyst who met him at the sushi restaurant the day he fell ill have tested positive for radioactivity.

London has no shortage of Russian heavyweights. Roman

Abramovich, Britain's second richest person, made his killing in oil, bought the powerhouse Chelsea Football Club in 2003 and has spent so heavily on top soccer players that some team bosses complain they can't compete. Boris Berezovsky, a close ally of former Russian President Boris Yeltsin, made his \$1.5 billion mainly in cars and oil and was instrumental in making Putin the heir to Yeltsin. But his major preoccupation now is his loathing of the Russian President—one reason he employed Litvinenko, who accused Putin of blowing up apartment buildings in Moscow to aid his presidential campaign and of ordering assassinations.

Most Russians in London are not nearly so rich or so flamboyant. They came to London precisely to ensure that they could live in peace and keep their money. They want a low profile.

Not superlow, though. To the best hotels, jewelry shops and fashion houses, the Russians are coming—and very welcome too. Wendy Lewis, a cosmetic-surgery consultant with lots of Russian clients, says, "I have one client, each time I see her, the fur that walks

**LAST SUPPER:** Police guard the restaurant where the victim dined

in the door costs more than my house." London boasts four Russian-language newspapers and a glossy Russian-language magazine, *New Style*, that advertises fat diamonds and kitchens in "walnut, white and platinum" and runs articles comparing the virtues of cars costing more than \$200,000. Russians bought one-quarter of the central-London properties priced above \$9 million that the real estate firm Savills sold this year.

Why cold, damp London for a second home? Unlike the U.S., Britain doesn't generally tax the income of resident foreigners unless they bring it into the country. Compared with the rest of Europe, Britain is seen as a country free of red tape, where it's easy to start a business. It's thought to be safe and cultured and a great place to educate children. Plus it's just four hours by air from Moscow.

Whether Londoners will tolerate the importing of secret agents and weird poisons is another question. But with so much money sloshing around, Russians are bound to keep coming to Londongrad. Although the Litvinenko death has created a chill among government critics in Russia, London's go-go exiles don't seem too worried. Zograb Nalbandian, London correspondent for the Russian newspaper *Trud*, says he has spoken to a dozen members of the Russian diaspora. "No one thinks the regime is going to run after them here." That may be true. But it still might be wise for some of London's Russians to watch their sushi. —With reporting by Peter Gumbel/Paris and Yuri Zarakhovich/Moscow



**LAST DAYS:** Litvinenko three days before he died

**Russians bought a quarter of the central-London properties priced above \$9 million that the firm Savills sold this year**

# Looking To the Future

Paper batteries?  
Solar trash cans?  
Some surprising  
new tech that could  
change your life

**TIME**  
BONUS SECTION  
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MicroOptical's  
Kip Kokinakis  
enjoys a video  
playing on his  
company's  
heads-up  
viewing goggles

Photograph for  
TIME by Paul Hu—  
Assignment Asia

A special section  
based on WEF's  
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For more, go to  
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SOME ADVANCES BARELY GET noticed. Those new game boxes? Lots of ink. Not so much the new chips that run them. So it is with this year's Technology Pioneers. Consumers will flip when they see MicroOptical's video goggles, and they'll dig Ruckus' wireless router. In rural India, where Drishtee is taking computers to the poorest people, the benefit is obvious. But Dust Networks' self-organizing mesh networking system is pretty cool if, say, you work in industry. So too are the paper batteries of Enfucell or the flexible sensors of DeepStream. Sensors are a real big deal on this particular planet. So is medicine, where no breakthrough is small, whether it's Amorfix's blood test for mad cow disease or HealthSTATS' wristwatch-like device that measures blood pressure. Either one could save your life. And speaking of lifesaving, how about Aresa's landmine-detecting plant? Not as hip as Technorati, a Web-search wonder, but in war's bloody wake, this is one weed that will be appreciated. —Bill Saporito



DAVE SIFRY  
TECHNORATI  
SAN FRANCISCO

## Searchlight For the Blogsphere

IF GOOGLE IS THE WEB'S REFERENCE library, Technorati is becoming its coffeehouse, where people go to find out what's being said and by whom. Rather than send you to Madonna's website if you punch her name into its search box, Technorati tells you the latest buzz about her career—and her adoption saga. "We look at the world in a different way from Google," says CEO Dave Sifry. "We're not a library. We're the

world's biggest conversation stream, with millions of people talking."

To become a player in the search world, Technorati focused on the growing blogosphere, which it defines as more than 60 million blogs, or Web journals. Sifry says 55% of them are active, meaning they have had at least one new post over the past three months. Every day 100,000 more blogs join the fray. In becoming the first successful blog-search tool, Technorati figured out how to mine blogs for relevant terms and how to sort the creative from the crud. Unlike Google, Technorati's search process dumps links that are more than 180 days old.

Over the past year, Technorati has broadened its reach to include Chinese, Spanish and other languages. Just 38% of the 1.4 million individual blog entries each day are in English. A growing number are



Sifry and his team trumpet Technorati as the blogging world's answer to Google, tracking the Web's top buzz

## (tech pioneers)

**KIP KOKINAKIS**  
MICROOPTICAL  
WESTWOOD, MASS.

## A New Glimpse of Reality

VIDEO GOGGLES ARE SUCH A STAPLE OF science fiction that it's hard to imagine anyone actually trying to build a pair. But that's exactly the target MicroOptical Corp. has in its sights.

The company has already introduced glasses with built-in video screens for specialists. In operating rooms, the glasses display critical data for surgeons so that they can continue working while monitoring a patient's vital signs. And soldiers may soon use them to see images of targets projected before their eyes rather than having to snap their head back and forth to refer to a video panel on a vehicle.

But the goal for MicroOptical, says CEO Kip Kokinakis, is to put video glasses on millions of consumers. "The medical and military businesses, while interesting, never grow very much," Kokinakis says. "We're venture backed, so we need to be mindful of growth."

MicroOptical has begun selling a mod-

“We’re the world’s biggest conversation stream, with millions of people talking.” —Dave Sifry

moving beyond text to include photos, audio and video, so Technorati provides links.

Sifry has also added a feature that lets people who have a blog see how many other bloggers are linking to them and commenting on their writings. It's all about the community, he says. A longtime programmer who coded an early version of the site in his basement just over four years ago, Sifry says he's finding it a lot harder to be the guy in charge. "It's a luxury to be the guy who isn't sitting in the corner office because you can bitch and moan if things don't go your way," says Sifry. If someone else can run his company better, he says, he'll move aside.

To make money, Technorati markets itself as a viral focus group, where product

managers can go to discover what consumers are writing about a product or service. "They can't ask questions, but they can listen in," says Sifry. Paying advertisers can buy sponsored links, which encourage Technorati visitors to check out what bloggers are saying about something, like the movie *Fast Food Nation*, featured in a recent sponsored ad.

Marketers are eager to throw their wares in the faces of bloggers who can spread the word; paid links are a fresh way to do that. "When people dangle checks, you tend to notice," says Sifry. "But we're trying to focus not just on short-term revenue opportunities but on building a great user experience." That's what they all say on the way to the IPO. —Jeremy Caplan





el that connects to a video iPod for \$299. The challenge is to avoid the Segway scooter's problems: sticker shock and nerdiness. "We have to overcome the geek factor," admits Kokinakakis, "so we have more of an Oakley look than Star Trek."

To accomplish that, the company is working on slimming down the specs to look more like ordinary sunglasses. It's also trying to get sexy stars to don them. And Kokinakakis hopes he can trim the price toward a \$99 sweet spot. The goal is to have a sleeker, more stylish version ready for the

2008 Beijing Olympics, enabling consumers to watch the Games on mobile TV.

Because video drains batteries quickly, another challenge MicroOptical faces is installing an efficient power source in the glasses without generating eye-punishing heat or bulking the device up. Kokinakakis says people tend to watch video in 20-min. vignettes while sitting on a train or plane, so the goggles may not need the same battery power demanded of notebook computers. For now, he says, the iPod gadget relieves you of having to tilt your head down

or hold your arm up to look at the image.

Ultimately, the company wants to put its optics into ordinary prescription glasses. Unlike other attempts at video goggles, many of which look like mini-vcrs strapped onto a viewer's head, MicroOptical's are light and feature a see-through front panel so you can look ahead when you're not watching your YouTube downloads. But until the gear stops drawing stares from passersby, even that won't be enough. It's still tough bringing sci-fi to the streets. —J.C.

**JOY WEISS**  
DUST NETWORKS  
HAYWARD, CALIF.

## Connecting The Dots For Sensors

HOW DO YOU GET DISPARATE MACHINES TO communicate? For decades, that has been a costly challenge for anyone operating an oil refinery, pulp mill or processing plant. Sensors measuring temperature, pressure and dozens of other things that govern how smoothly a process is running have long been linked via expensive wiring, if at all. Installing new sensors has traditionally called for retrofitting a factory with new wiring whose installation can cost 10 times what the measurement gauge itself does. Many new devices can't be wired into a central system because of the way factories are laid out, so data are often gathered by someone walking around with a clipboard.

Tracking a building's temperature and lighting can save a tremendous amount of money." —Joy Weiss

In comes Dust Networks. To connect sensors in factories, commercial buildings or any type of processing plant, the four-year-old start-up developed a small wireless hub that relays measurements along a daisy chain of stations to pool collected data. In what is called a mesh network, each station passes along data to the nearest available station, using any one of many communication channels. The mesh network solves the problem



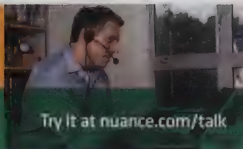
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faced by other wireless systems in factory settings: being blocked by giant metal structures. The system uses so little power that stations can go 10 years without a battery change. The impact has been dramatic. "Self-organizing mesh networking is one of the most exciting innovations to



Dust Networks' tiny wireless hubs link production-process data

come along in the process industry in more than 30 years," says Steve Sonnenberg, a division president for Dust Networks' first major client, Emerson, a \$20 billion manufacturing-services company. When BP

put Dust Networks' system in place in a Washington State refinery, linking the site's sensors, BP immediately discovered a problem with one machine, saving \$100,000 in productivity that would otherwise have been lost.

Dust CEO Joy Weiss says that in addition to enhancing efficiency in manufacturing, wireless sensor networks can help lighten environmental loads. "Tracking a building's temperature and lighting can save a tremendous amount of money," she says.

Other uses for Dust's mesh networks are quickly cropping up. One start-up is putting Dust's wireless sensors in parking spots to measure how long vehicles have been parked and then relay that info to a central database for billing.

For now, Dust is mainly helping companies proactively monitor equipment to avoid—or at least prepare for—costly outages. Eventually, Weiss says, Dust may find its way into home networks as well. —J.C.

**SATYAN MISHRA**  
DRISHTEE  
NOIDA, UTTAR PRADESH

## Linking To Rural India

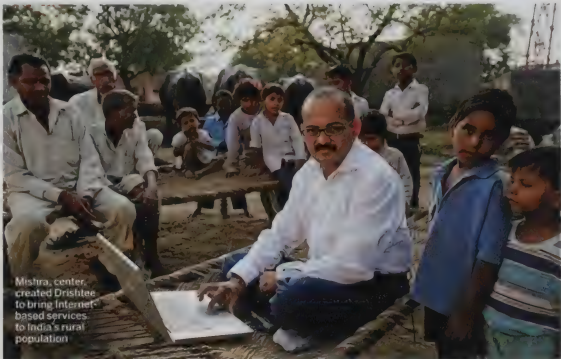
IT'S ONE OF THE PERENNIAL PROBLEMS OF marketing in India: How do you reach the 700 million people living in rural areas who, though poor, would still add up to a big chunk of change if they only knew about your products? That's something Satyan Mishra, 33, has spent a lot of time thinking about. Mishra is the founder and CEO of Drishtee, a six-year-old company dedicated to making services and goods found in cities available to country folk.

In Drishtee's early years, the company focused on connecting government departments to villages. Using small kiosks outfitted with a computer hooked up to an intranet, it allowed rural dwellers to apply for a

driver's license or request a copy of a birth certificate online. The company charged a small fee—25 rupees, or 55¢, to apply for a driver's license, say—but the applicant saved 10 times that amount by reducing the number of visits to a government office in an often distant regional center. The system worked well at first. "But we discovered that there was a lot of pent-up demand and that after some time that demand went right down," says Mishra.

So Drishtee has been expanding demand by selling insurance policies, subscriptions to websites that match would-be grooms with prospective brides, classified advertising, an online health-advice service and even passport photos printed as you wait. The company has 1,019 kiosks in nine states and is aiming to open an additional 3,000 in the next two years. Each kiosk is run by an entrepreneur from the village, typically a man in his mid-20s. The cost of a kiosk package—computer, digital camera, Internet connection over a cell-phone line, and printer—is \$1,500, which is paid back over a few years. Each entrepreneur also pays a fixed monthly fee of \$11. For that, there is help if anything goes wrong with the hardware, special rural-focused online

“It's all about giving people the tools to uplift themselves so they can compete with the outside world.” —Satyan Mishra



Mishra, center, created Drishtee to bring Internet-based services to India's rural population

Lo says IPTV networks, popular in Europe, may soon take on cable and satellite in the U.S.

It takes a bunch of fools like us to say these products have got to be better." —Selina Lo

packages that Drishte develops (like the matchmaking service) and regular visits from insurance-company reps. Drishte and each village entrepreneur get a small cut for every new policy sold. Drishte is also looking at cell-phone kiosks—essentially cell phones that will offer about half the services currently provided by a fixed kiosk.

The company is one of a few that have shown bigger firms that there is a market outside the cities. Indian banks and retailers are developing innovative systems to reach the provincials. The Indian government likes Drishte's delivery model and is looking at creating its own version with at least 100,000 centers across the country. Mishra, who has advised the government on how to set up such a system, says competition will be welcome. He believes Drishte is perfectly placed to specialize in supply-chain management for companies hoping to reach the same market. "It's all about empowerment and giving people the tools to uplift themselves so they can compete with the outside world," says Mishra. "And we think there's a profitable market in that." —By Simon Robinson

**SELINA LO**  
RUCKUS WIRELESS  
SUNNYVALE, CALIF.

## The Wizards of Wireless

LOSE THE LEASH. CUT THE WIRES. SO GO the mantras. But for those still frustrated by the instability and limited range of home wireless networks, Ethernet cables remain a common alternative. That presents a problem, though.

"People don't like dealing with the hassles of cables," says Ruckus CEO Selina Lo. "It's just one rung above plumbing." So Ruckus, a California-based start-up with 57 employees, came up with a better idea: refine wireless networking so that you can more efficiently fling high-speed access around your home without having to snake wires around doorways and under desks. Ruckus routers use hardware and

software that direct signals around obstacles, so that wireless works smoothly even in a large home, and even for video, for which stability and speed are vital.

Streaming video without having frames freeze or an occasionally garbled picture requires a network that sends packets of data consistently, without interruption. Ruckus' range is three times that of other wireless networks, and for streaming the latest *Lonely Girl*, it's both swift and stable. While appliances like microwaves or phones can interfere with traditional wireless networks, Ruckus' technology overcomes those problems by rerouting signals along an unobstructed path. "We're making wi-fi a utility, rather than a very specialized kind of network for computers," Lo says. Because wireless remains a novelty for many American consumers, though, the company remains little known in the U.S.

Ruckus' technology also enables Internet Protocol TV (IPTV) services to stream television and video around a home. An alternative to cable and satellite TV that has barely left a mark in the U.S., IPTV is popular in Europe and Asia, where Ruckus partners with service

Ruckus' wireless networks boast a range three times that of competitors'

providers. Lo says IPTV will gain converts in the U.S. "Right now we're slaves to cable and satellite TV," she says, "where you need to wait weeks for someone to check your wiring and then install cables. With IPTV you just buy a subscription, and it all works wirelessly."

Next up for Lo's company, which launched in June 2004, is creating networks that will enable video streaming in places like coffee shops, airports and train stations. Eventually, the company hopes to expand its U.S. presence, having already landed partners in Belgium, Hong Kong, Ireland, Estonia and Slovenia. Networking products become commoditized so quickly that nobody bothers with innovation, says Lo. "It takes a bunch of fools like us to say these products have got to be better. Innovation is worth something even for a commodity." —J.C.





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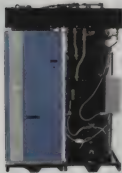
## Cooled By Sun And Salt

IF EVER THERE WAS AN innovation unlikely to come out of Sweden, it's this one.

Aiming to squeeze the amount—and cost—of energy used to cool homes and businesses in warm-weather areas, ClimateWell, based in balmy Hägersten, south of Stockholm, is marketing a novel solution: solar-powered air conditioning.

Unlike conventional cooling or heating systems fueled by such nonrenewable energy sources as oil and gas, ClimateWell's CW10 system—which can also warm your home in winter—slashes energy use by effectively running off water heated by the sun. And don't worry if it isn't always sunny: the clever system stores energy for conversion later into cooling or heating.

So how does it work? Air conditioning relies on some form of heat exchange. In this case, it's a thermochemical one between water and salt that takes place in a vacuum. Water evaporating from a tank inside ClimateWell's refrigerator-size unit is absorbed by salt housed in a connected tank—the water molecules can't resist sticking to the salt, turning it into a



ClimateWell's fridge-size air-conditioning unit stores solar energy in a slurry of salt and water



Crystals far smaller than this store and transfer sun power in Olofsson's cooling and heating systems

“Changing behavior is more difficult than changing technology.” —Per Olofsson

slurry. As water evaporates, it gives up energy, which is then released inside the salt tank. The result of the energy transfer: the water becomes colder as the salt heats up. Pipe water through the slurry into radiators, and the system can heat the home; circulating the cold water will cool it.

Solar panels provide the energy needed to ensure continual cooling. The idea has been agonized over since the mid-'90s by Ray Olsson, ClimateWell's head of innovation, and as engineered by chief technology officer Goran Bölin, heat from water connected to the solar panels dries and crystallizes the salt, evaporating the water absorbed in it and storing energy inside

the salt for as long as it is needed. As soon as water is remixed with the salt, that energy is released, again cooling the water tank.

The technology isn't cheap: installing the ClimateWell system costs roughly \$25,000 in Spain, \$10,000 more than standard combined heating and cooling systems. But going solar would slice \$130 off the monthly energy bill of a standard home, says Per Olofsson, CEO of ClimateWell. And with electricity and gas prices rocketing, users would be “much less vulnerable to fluctuations in the future.”

Moreover, without leaning heavily on traditional sources of fuel (the pumps forcing the salt and water around the machine are electric but use only 100 watts), the average home could reduce carbon dioxide output by 13 tons a year.

But will home and building owners make the trade-off? The firm has launched its product in Spain, targeting the developers of some 200,000 single-family homes it says are being built in the country each year. Olofsson expects the first ClimateWell systems to be running in 2008-09, and says homes and businesses in warmer climates from Indonesia to South America offer great potential for the company. “Our core value is to find solutions that enable people to live lives they live today, but in a sustainable way,” he says. “Changing behavior is more difficult than changing technology.” —By Adam Smith

# SHARP



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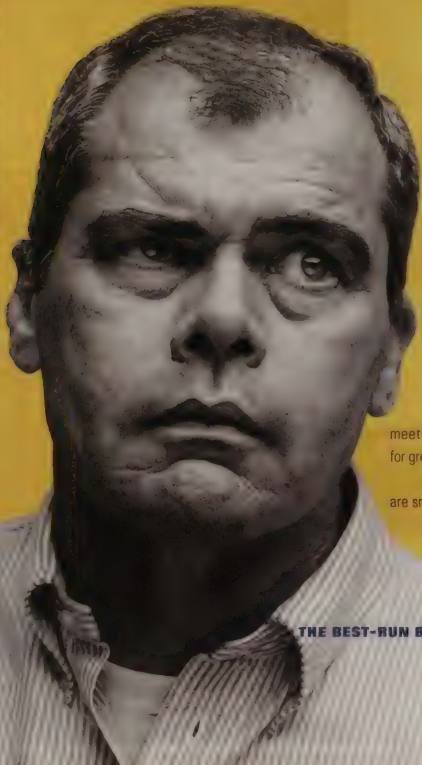
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# INNOVATIVE PARTNERING

How smart alliances lend a hand to help midmarket growth.

BY MELANIE HAIKEN



Modest growth might have been acceptable a few years ago in the wake of the dotcom crash, but in today's competitive climate, slow and steady just doesn't cut it. Midsize companies are squeezed between startups with buzz and stock options on one side and multinational behemoths on the other. How to turn up the throttle? There's a reason "strategic collaboration" and "team building"

are the catchphrases du jour. The smartest companies know it's usually unwise to go it alone. They also know who to team up with and how to forge strong relationships so everyone gets ahead. Read on for a guide to smart partnering, whether it's with your competition, your employees, or the wider community. After all, sharing is most satisfying when everyone makes money.

*Melanie Haiken is a San Rafael, Calif., writer and a frequent contributor to Business 2.0.*



# MAKING STRATEGIC ALLIANCES PAY OFF

Self-sufficiency may be a prized trait in our culture, but being a lone ranger can be a big mistake for a midsize company, especially in an increasingly global economy. "We're finding that we have to be better at more things than we used to have to be," says Ed Rigsbee, a corporate consultant and author of *PartnerShift* and *Developing Strategic Alliances*. "But it's impossible to be good at everything, so the key is to look for partners with core competencies that fill in your gaps."

Partner relationships can take many shapes, from simple supply-chain or distribution deals to complex joint ventures involving multiple parties. But the point is to join forces with someone whose skills or connections allow you to accomplish something bigger, faster, or better than you could on your own. As

an example, Rigsbee cites the model of a buying group, in which a number of smaller distributors join together to better compete with the purchasing muscle of larger players.

One mistake many businesses make is refusing to partner with the competition for fear that it'll steal secrets or gain an advantage. It's far better to follow the oft-quoted advice of Michael Corleone: Keep your friends close, but your enemies closer. After all, your competition is your competition because you share the same goals. So why not use that common ambition to your mutual benefit? You might even find that partnering can double your success. "Nowadays," Rigsbee says, "somebody might be my competitor in the morning, and by the afternoon we might be working together on something."

## SNAPSHOT

### PAPA JOHN'S AND SIX FLAGS

Marketing partnerships work best when two products go well together, which is certainly the case with pizza and amusement parks. Hence the multiyear strategic alliance between Papa John's pizza restaurants and Six Flags theme parks, announced last March. The partnership makes Papa John's the only pizza available within Six Flags properties, and helps Six Flags reach out to consumers at some 1,100 Papa John's restaurants located within a 100-mile radius of a Six Flags park.

The alliance will certainly boost the stature of fast-growing Papa John's. The Kentucky-based company, which started in the back of an Indiana bar in 1984, operates 2,978 restaurants in 49 states and 25 countries. The deal includes a Web and e-mail campaign promoting Papa John's to Six Flags online customers and in-park distribution of Papa John's coupons. For its part, Six Flags, headquartered in New York City, receives an undisclosed annual sponsorship payment and the chance to advertise its parks on Papa John's pizza boxes.



# THE SECRET TO STRATEGIC ALLIANCES THAT LAST

It might seem like the simplest thing in the world to join forces with companies whose interests are complementary to yours. But statistics tell another story. "The fact is, 65 to 70 percent of strategic alliances fail," says Lorraine Segil, author of *Intelligent Business Alliances* and *Measuring the Value of Partnering*. "Most often, the issues that come up reveal inadequate attention to building the relationship and aligning business interests and goals." And you can't afford to fail: In a global economy, experts say, strategic partnering is both the surest road to growth and the best insurance against failure.

To ensure that your partnerships push you up the ladder rather than down, here are a few of Segil's golden rules for success.

**1. Do due diligence on prospective partners.** Check for gaps in skills and competency; can they deliver what you're looking for? Investigate prospective partners by talking to other companies they've partnered with, and examine their relationships for conflicts and synergies. Segil calls this analyzing the spider network.

**2. Make sure your partnership has approval and support.** That means gaining the backing of the executive suites in both organizations.

**3. Analyze the value each partner puts on the alliance.** It doesn't have to be equally important to both sides, Segil says, as long as it's of real benefit to both. "Too often, partnerships fall apart because one party starts to gripe that the other party is getting more out of the relationship. But that's a false measure," she says. "The real question is, Are you getting more out of this relationship than you would have without it? Then it's still a value-add, whether it's equally beneficial or not."

## SNAPSHOT

### ACXION AND ACCENTURE

For a midsize company looking to grow, an alliance with a much bigger company can be like grabbing onto the back of a train. An example is the partnership forged between Acxiom, a leader in customer data mining, and Accenture, a global management-consulting firm. Based in Little Rock, Ark., Acxiom provides customer data to everyone from Ford and Nissan to Condé Nast and Blockbuster. Accenture—the Bermuda-based consultant to an A-list of multinational telecommunications, energy, aerospace, and financial services firms—is now embedding Acxiom's customer database directly into Accenture's client-specific customer-relationship management solutions. In other words, Accenture is taking Acxiom with it all over the globe.

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## RESOURCES

### BOOKS

***Developing Strategic Alliances***, by Ed Rigsbee  
(Crisp, 2000)

***Measuring the Value of Partnering: How to Use Metrics to Plan, Develop, and Implement Successful Alliances***, by Lorraine Segil (American Management Association, 2004)

***The Five Dysfunctions of a Team***, by Patrick Lencioni (Jossey-Bass, 2002)

### UPCOMING COURSES

**Strategic Alliances, an Executive Course**  
Caltech Industrial Relations Center, Pasadena, Calif.  
Taught by Lorraine Segil, Jan. 29-30

**Executing Strategic Change in Dynamic Environments**  
([www.gsb.stanford.edu/exed/esc/index.html](http://www.gsb.stanford.edu/exed/esc/index.html))  
Stanford Graduate School of Business Executive Education, Palo Alto, Calif.  
Taught by Robert Burgelman and Robert Pearl, March 25-28 (application deadline Feb. 15)

**Building Winning Teams**  
([www.tablegroup.com](http://www.tablegroup.com))  
New York City  
Taught by Patrick Lencioni, Nov. 6-7, 2007  
Clients have included Novartis, Novell, and State Farm

# EMPLOYEES: THE ULTIMATE PARTNERS

It's easy to forget that the most important allies your company has are the ones who come to work every day. Executives at successful companies are quick to tell you that finding and retaining top talent is the key to growth. This is particularly true for midsize firms, which have to compete with larger—and richer—companies for management and entrepreneurial expertise. "Great companies and leaders have started to understand the connection between employee satisfaction, high levels of productivity, and the bottom line," says Patrick Lencioni, a business consultant whose book, *The Five Dysfunctions of a Team*, is a business best-seller.

The secret, Lencioni says, is creating a team-based culture of connectedness in which employees feel that their input is respected and rewarded. "You have to build trust among team members so that people feel free to admit what they don't know, make mistakes, ask for help if they need it, apologize when necessary, and not hold back their opinions." In other words, just say no to yes-men.

The result? A company in which creativity and innovation can flourish. Stanford University management professor Robert Burgelman advocates "internal corporate venturing." Developing new ideas is integral to growing any company, but too many executives wait until a crisis occurs before putting resources into fostering innovation, Burgelman says. Instead, successful companies make innovation an ongoing strategy, committing resources and management from the top down.

## SNAPSHOT

### 1-800-GOT-JUNK

Patrick Lencioni teaches managers in his team-building seminars to strengthen trust by admitting vulnerability. It worked for Brian Scudamore, the 36-year-old founder of the hauling and cleanup service 1-800-Got-Junk. "As soon as I stopped trying to be the CEO who's got everything under control, there was an instant shift," he says. "My managers started seeing me as someone they could disagree with—and that makes all of us stronger." Teamwork is at the core of the operation based in Vancouver, British Columbia, which has expanded to 278 North American cities and has outposts in Australia and the United Kingdom. Its revenue was \$67 million in 2005, almost double the previous year, and the company is on target to nearly double it again this year.



## TAPPING TOP TALENT: GIVE 'EM WHAT THEY WANT

Of course, when it comes to luring the best and brightest, perks don't hurt either. Here are a few of the pluses that have employees at these firms staying put.

1. **Onsite day care:** BE&K Construction, Compuware, Novant Health, Quad/Graphics

2. **Onsite pets:** Autodesk



3. **Onsite gourmet meals:** Analytical Graphics, SAS

4. **Onsite fitness center:** Northwestern Mutual Life, Progressive Insurance, Yankee Candle

5. **Subsidized vacations for all employees:** Homestead Technologies, S.C. Johnson & Son

6. **Incentives for buying a hybrid car:** Hyperion, Integrated Archive Systems, Timberland, Topics Entertainment

7. **Tuition reimbursement:** American Specialty Health, CambridgeSoft, J.M. Smucker, Wegmans Food Markets

8. **Concierge service to run errands:** Chicago Children's Memorial Hospital, Norton Healthcare

9. **Sleep breaks at work:** Kaye/Bassman, Le Gourmet Gift Basket

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## PARTNERSHIP WITH THE COMMUNITY: THE POWER OF CORPORATE CITIZENSHIP

Nowhere has thinking about strategic partnerships been turned on its head more dramatically than in the area of corporate citizenship.

Old thinking: Social responsibility is a good thing, but where's the return on investment? Wait for a good year, and then give some money to charity—hopefully a high-profile one. Better yet, ask employees to contribute to United Way.

New thinking: By following what some experts are calling "the new principles of corporate design," companies can seamlessly integrate social and financial goals, aligning themselves with their communities in ways that boost the bottom line.

## SNAPSHOT

## PMI BUILDS AND FINANCES AFFORDABLE HOUSING

The PMI Group—one of the world's largest providers of private mortgage insurance—joined forces with Fannie Mae to launch a \$50 billion community-lending alliance that provides revolving funds to build affordable housing for a variety of local nonprof-

its nationwide. Communities add desperately needed housing, low- and moderate-income borrowers become homeowners for the first time, and new market opportunities open up for PMI and Fannie Mae.



## SNAPSHOT

TIMBERLAND INVITES CUSTOMERS TO BECOME RESPONSIBLE CONSUMERS

Long known for its Path of Service program, which pays all employees for 40 hours a year of community work, Timberland this fall upped the ante by tackling environmental issues. All of the shoe company's boxes sport a Nutrition Facts-style label detailing the product's environmental and community "footprint," including where the shoes were made, the typical amount of energy used to produce a pair, and the percentage of Timberland's energy that came from renewable resources. The message also includes measures of how well Timberland factories are performing against the company's pledge not to use sweatshops or child labor. A successful marketing ploy? You bet.



## RESOURCES

For more information on how to align your company's business and social efforts, consult these resources.

**1. The Center for Corporate Citizenship at Boston College ([www.bcccc.net](http://www.bcccc.net))**

A wealth of resources for socially ethical management

2. **CRO** ([www.thecro.com](http://www.thecro.com))

An offshoot of *Business Ethics* magazine, a newly minted membership organization that sponsors an annual conference for corporate responsibility officers

### 3. Corporation 20/20

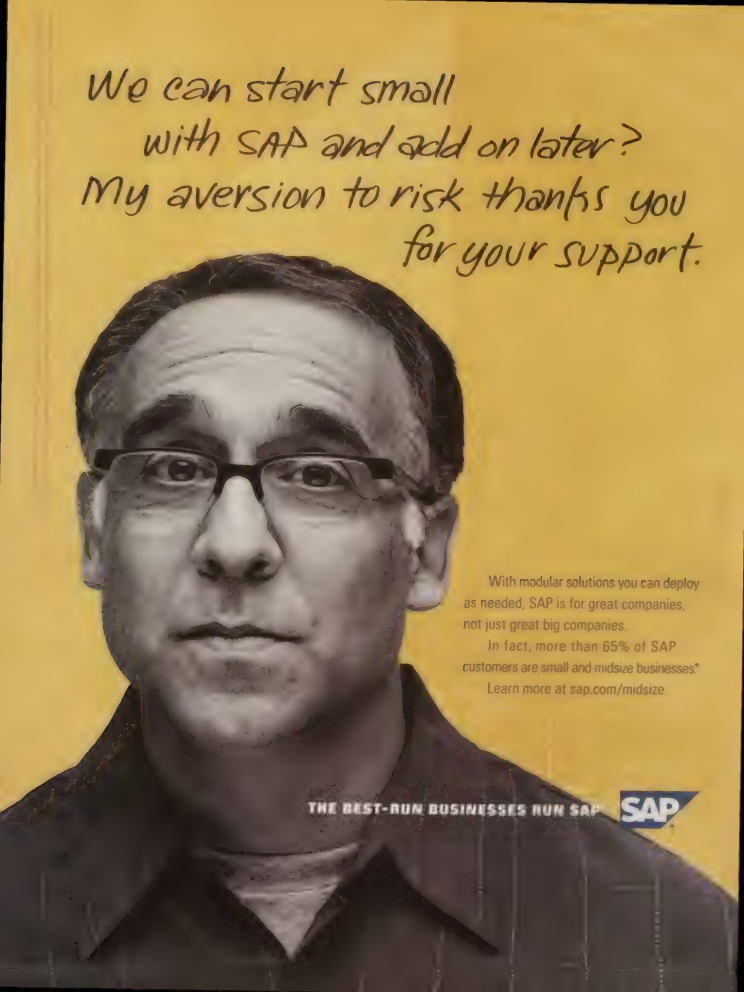
([www.corporation2020.org](http://www.corporation2020.org))  
Co-founded by Tellus Institute  
and *Business Ethics*, an effort  
to spell out what a corporation  
would look like if it was de-  
signed to combine social and  
business goals

Our Footprint, Notre Empreinte	
Environmental Impact	Impact sur l'environnement
Is there a problem for you? Soyez-vous affecté par ça?	
Recyclable energy (Renouvelable energy facilities) Énergie renouvelable (sites d'appareil à renouveler)	
Community Impact Impact sur la communauté	
How are you and we connected? Comment, vous et nous sommes connectés?	
% of production consumed against sales of products % de production consommée contre les ventes de produits	
% of production sold prior to its availability on the market % de production vendue avant sa disponibilité sur le marché	
How? Comment?	
What is the situation? Quelle est la situation?	
Manufacturing and Supplying à	
Where they are, global locations, Where they are, Where they are	
Méthodes, lieux de production globale, Où ils sont, Où ils sont, Où ils sont	
Informations relatives aux productions (Où ils sont, Où ils sont, Où ils sont)	

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**GEORGE ADAMS**  
AMORFIX LIFE SCIENCES  
TORONTO

## Find the Bad Protein; Then, Fix It

THE IMPLICATIONS WERE CHILLING. SINCE the mid-1990s, the words mad-cow disease had turned beef eaters around the world to tofu tasters as people began to die of the human variant of the disease. Then in 2004 came another disturbing report in the medical journal the *Lancet*: variant Creutzfeldt-Jakob disease (vCJD), as the illness is properly called, could be spread through blood transfusions. With no way to test for the incurable illness except in the brain samples of the dead, how to ensure the safety of the world's blood supply?

Dr. Neil Cashman thought he had the answer. The University of Toronto scientist had spent his career trying to sift out the misshapen clumps of proteins thought to cause neurodegenerative diseases such as amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS) that hid in a sandbox of normal proteins. In 2002 he finally succeeded, using a chemical agent to alter normal proteins but not so-called aggregated misfolded ones, leaving the clumps easier to detect. It would become the formula for a diagnostic kit usable by blood banks everywhere.

The next challenge was bringing the kit to market. The clock was

ticking, particularly in Western European countries, where infected cows continued to crop up. Cashman approached George Adams, a serial entrepreneur who had recently resigned as head of the University of Toronto's Innovations Foundation. Amorfix Life Sciences is expected to introduce the diagnostic kit in Europe in 2007; Adams says the kit will generate \$10 million in 2007 sales for the publicly held company.

While detecting vCJD in the blood supply is of pressing importance, what tantalizes investors and clinicians is the prospect of a similar blood test to diagnose Alzheimer's disease. Doctors screen for the illness today using

cognitive and memory exams, spinal taps or imaging tests—all pricey, none fail-safe. For the hundreds of companies working on treatments, that means relying on drug trials involving patients who may not even have the disease. "That's why the treatments we have now don't work that well," says Adams. In September, Amorfix announced that its technology can detect aggregated beta-amyloid, the protein fragment that, when gobbled together in the brain, is thought to identify Alzheimer's. With 460 million people worldwide over the age of 65, Adams estimates the market at as much as \$5 billion.

Corralling clumps of misshapen protein could open the way not just to

diagnosis but also to treatment. In August, Amorfix partnered with Biogen Idec of Cambridge, Mass., to pursue treatment for ALS, or Lou Gehrig's disease, with the goal of blocking the protein from misfolding in the first place. "It's just the most awful disease, and the most challenging," says Cashman, who runs an ALS clinic in Vancouver, where he is research chairman of neurology at the University of British Columbia's department of medicine. "It may sound trite, but I want to make a difference, and this is my calling."

—By Lisa Takeuchi Cullen



“It may sound trite, but I want to make a difference, and this is my calling.”

—Dr. Neil Cashman, chief scientific officer, Amorfix



The leaves of the thale-cress turn red when they detect nitrogen dioxide leaching from land mines

JARNE ELLEHOLM  
ARESA  
COPENHAGEN

## Saving Lives And Limbs With a Weed

ON SCRUBBY FLATLAND OUTSIDE COPENHAGEN Airport, Jarne Elleholm and Carsten Meier are watching green foliage turn red. This is no autumn leaf-peeping exercise. Rather, they're keeping an eye on a swath of weeds they're growing that should turn red in the proximity of land mines. If the weeds change hues as designed, Elleholm and Meier could save thousands of lives and limbs.

Their company, Aresa, a Copenhagen-based biotech start-up, has genetically modified a common weed called thale-cress so that its leaves turn red when the plant

comes in contact with nitrogen dioxide—a compound that naturally leaches into the soil from unexploded land mines made from plastic and held together by leaky rubber seals. Aresa is growing large patches of the stuff on old army shooting ranges that have been seeded with land mines.

The Geneva-based International Campaign to Ban Landmines says there are an average of 15,000 to 20,000 land-mine deaths or injuries annually as innocent victims wander onto the leftover devices. Unknown numbers of unexploded mines are waiting to find victims in Angola, Cambodia, Sudan, Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina and many other countries.

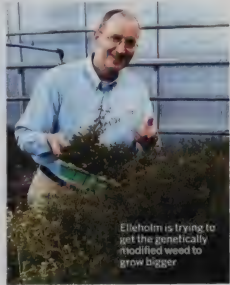
Unless the mines can be found first. "There are a lot of promises in land-mine detection, but still, what people often come back to is the guy poking around with a stick," says Elleholm, speaking of technologies such as ground-penetrating radar, infrared devices and thermal neutron activation. Many current methods are slow and cover no more than 1% of the estimated 77,220 sq. mi. of the world's land-mine-

infested territory every year. Elleholm says Aresa's technique can cover five times as much ground in the same amount of time as other detection techniques.

Aresa uses a seeding hose known as a "hydroseeder"—groundskeepers use such a hose to grow green grass on golf courses—to cover about a football field of territory in a day. After four to five weeks the thale-cress will have sprouted and turned red if it encounters nitrogen dioxide. Normally, plants neutralize nitrogen dioxide, which they recognize as harmful. But Aresa scientists, led by founder Meier, have genetically engineered thale-cress, fusing its nitrogen dioxide neutralizer with an enzyme that creates red pigment (plants naturally produce red pigment, which isn't visible until the green disappears in autumn).

Aresa has had mixed results. The thale-cress does indeed turn red when it meets nitrogen dioxide. But Aresa can't get the weed to grow large enough to be easily visible. Aresa has experimented with only one of the more than 1,600 varieties of thale-cress. Following the summer letdown, the company ordered 174 different strains, and is awaiting seeds from Libya, Norway, the Caucasus, Britain, the U.S. and elsewhere.

Elleholm thinks Aresa will have a reliable land-mine-detecting thale-cress in about two years and hopes to apply similar biotech to detect larger, unexploded ordnance and eventually to cull antibodies from plants. But first it will focus on land mines. If it succeeds, Aresa will make thale-cress a weed that will be welcomed. —By Mark Halper



Elleholm is trying to get the genetically modified weed to grow bigger

“In mine detection, what people often come back to is the guy poking around with a stick.” —Jarne Elleholm

# WE DISCOVERED STEM CELLS. IT'S TIME TO DISCOVER US.

Ontario has been home to one breakthrough discovery after another. In 1961, Lasker Award-winning scientists James Edgar Till and Ernest Armstrong McCulloch proved the existence of stem cells. Today, Canada leads the world in cancer research, according to a 2006 study by The FASEB Journal. In Ontario, Dr. Tony Pawson has made major discoveries in cell signaling; other Ontario scientists have found novel ways to treat cancer with viruses; and we've made advances in imaging to improve mammography, surgery and therapy. We're committed to even greater achievements in the future. Our 44 universities and colleges ensure a steady supply of graduates in science, mathematics and engineering every year. In fact, 56% of our workforce has a post-secondary education – the highest rate in the industrialized world. And their potential is maximized by a competitive economy committed to the commercialization of research and innovation. It's time to make a major discovery of your own: Ontario. There's no better place in the world to do business.



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## A Relentless Watch on Your Pulse

WHIPPET THIN FROM HIS DAILY 2½-MILE walks, Ronnie Ho, 57, doesn't look as if he's suffering from high blood pressure. Nor is he. At its peak two years ago, Ho's blood pressure clocked in at 140/90, slightly above normal but not high enough to elicit a pill or much alarm. But when he went to see Dr. Ting Choon Meng, the Singapore general practitioner decided to monitor Ho's blood pressure with a black plastic wristwatch he had designed and named the BPro. The device, worn for 24 hours, revealed a wave pattern showing how fast and hard his heart was beating, as well as worrying patterns in Ho's pressure. Ting put Ho on blood-pressure-lowering medicine.

Was he being overly cautious? Not at all, Ting says, describing the attitude of doctors who brush off slightly elevated blood pressure as "the fatal smile" syndrome. "Patients get a clean bill of health from such doctors, and the next week they get a stroke," he says. "It's not enough to treat people with very high blood pressure. We're targeting people with no symptoms at all."

He's targeting them with his wrist monitor, which has the potential to not only cut heart attacks and stroke globally but also collect remarkable amounts of data. One in four American adults suffers from high blood pressure, according to the American Heart Association; a third in that group are unaware of having the condition. "One's

body is a very poor monitor of high blood pressure," explains Dr. Philip Wong, research director at the National Heart Center in Singapore, citing the absence of visible symptoms.

One reason high blood pressure is so diabolical, Ting says, is that it seems so simple to understand. "Every doctor takes blood pressure," says Wong, but very few doctors bother to monitor it on a 24-hour basis to detect dips during sleep or spikes in the first hours after waking. That's important, Ting explains, because "nondippers

The BPro tracks critical dips and spikes in blood pressure. It also monitors the heartbeat

**“Nondippers have three to five times the risk of stroke.”** —Dr. Ting Choon Meng

Ting sold three of his four clinics to get BPro off the ground. "Everyone thought I was mad," he says



have three to five times the risk of stroke" and because strokes often occur within three hours of waking, which Ting traces to a "morning surge" in blood pressure.

Embedded in the BPro is a sensor that picks up pulsations from the artery in the wrist and translates them into blood-pressure readings. Ting leases the BPro to doctors, who charge patients \$80 a day to use it—a fee split with Ting.

Ting's modest credentials didn't bowl over the high-flying venture capitalists at the Singapore government's Economic Development Board (EDB), which is seeking to boost the country's biotech industry. "Nobody bet on us from the government," he says, an account that officials confirm.

So, to fund the company that would eventually make the BPro, HealthSTATS International, Ting sold three of the four medical clinics he was running. "Everyone thought I was mad," he says. Ting launched the BPro in Singapore last spring, and is readying its launch in the U.S., where it has been cleared for marketing by the Food and Drug Administration.

His skeptics have also come around. Says EDB's Yeoh Keat Chuan of the BPro: "It is a revolutionary device. It has significant commercial potential." In spite of the pressure to sell the BPro and reward his shareholders, what matters most to Ting is patients like Ronnie Ho, for whom this modest-looking black wristwatch is already priceless. —By Neel Chowdhury



**The global community may  
like wind farms, but what  
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**MARK CROSIER**  
DEEPSTREAM TECHNOLOGIES  
BANGOR, WALES

## The Shape Of Things To Come

NECESSITY, THAT GREAT MOTHER OF INVENTION, played her role in the creation of DeepStream Technologies. Chief executive Mark Crosier and his core team found it necessary to get work in 2003 after losing their jobs. They became surplus to needs when Eaton Corp., an electrical company based in Cleveland, Ohio, bought the part of Delta Corp. where they worked. "Our whole team

Crosier's Silly Putty-like sensors can be molded to any shape to fit into oddly shaped areas

was severed in a redundancy, and we decided to design and build a business rather than all pursue our separate ways," recalls Crosier.

That business is pliable, flexible sensors. (Think Silly Putty with a circuit.) DeepStream, in Bangor, Wales, has invented a way to fit sensors into any nook or cranny in order to do everything from reducing commercial energy consumption to monitoring sugar levels in the bloodstream.

Sensors—devices that detect environmental changes—have been around for-

ever in analog form. Traditional thermometers, for instance, use mercury that rises and falls as it responds to temperature changes. More recently, in the information-technology age, network-linked digital sensors are starting to take note of everything from soil conditions to water pollutants to electricity usage.

Measurement equals management. The idea is to get optimal use of such resources as fertilizers and energy. But one restriction on modern sensors is that they are built with rigid materials like hard plastic and metal, which give them shape and volume, restricting where they fit.

DeepStream's pliable digital sensors overcome that limitation. "Instead of being flat and planar, we can mold them into any imaginable shape or topology, so now you can get into very awkward and difficult spaces," says Crosier. Another advantage: the materials are resistant to hazards like high temperatures and toxins.

The company typically uses moldable plastic over several layers of metal, but the details depend on the application. Creating the sensors hasn't been easy. Vice president of engineering Jonathan Luke says that rather than any one eureka moment, there has been "a lot of trial and error"—right out of the Thomas Edison playbook.

About 90 venture capitalists turned down the opportunity to fund DeepStream before London-based Doughty Hanson Technology Ventures led a \$19 million round. Crosier says the company is in preproduction mode with some electrical-equipment vendors (he declines to identify them) that could become full-blown production deals by early next year.

The potential uses of DeepStream's technology are endless. The company envisions sensors that detect wasted motor motion, power surges, electrical loss, overheating and unnecessary lighting—leading to vast improvements in efficiency, perhaps saving half a billion tons of carbon emissions in Britain alone each year. "Energy sensors are going to be a massive part of our future," says Crosier. Perhaps Eaton would like to buy some? —By Mark Halper

“We can mold them into any imaginable shape or topology and get into awkward places.”

—Mark Crosier

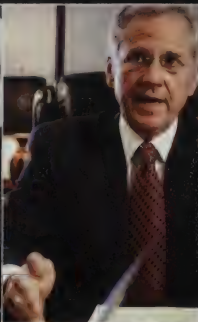
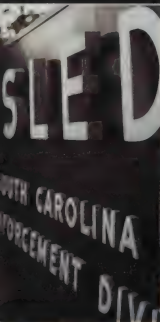


DeepStream uses pliable plastic over metal to make heat-, cold- and toxin-proof sensors

Hitachi true stories

# A NEW BREED OF BLOODHOUND

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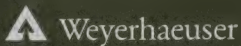
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## JIM POSS

SEAHORSE POWER CO.  
NEEDHAM, MASS.Bringing  
Sunshine to  
Trash

JIM POSS HAS A DIRTY LITTLE HABIT: THE alternative-energy entrepreneur is fixated on trash—collecting it, that is. “The U.S. spends more than \$45 billion a year to haul away garbage,” Poss explains. “That’s 180,000 diesel-burning trucks on our streets every day.” Plus, those trucks roll, spewing pollution in their wake, whether trash cans are full or empty. As Poss puts it, “I just knew there had to be a better way.” So he invented one: the solar-powered BigBelly Cordless Compaction System.

More than 300 BigBellies line streets from Massachusetts to California today, and their appeal is easy to see. Once BigBellies have been installed, the stinky, overflowing trash cans found on urban corners are no more, replaced by what looks like a large newspaper-

Poss started Seahorse in 2003 with \$10,000. His cans are now in use across the U.S.

A BigBelly in Boston. It uses solar energy to compact 180 gal. of trash into 40-lb. bags.

“Any business effort I made had to have good consequences for the environment.” —Jim Poss

vending machine that collects rather than distributes. Because the unit can hold at least four times as much as a standard can, trash needs to be collected less often.

Poss has made a career of renewable-energy engineering. He has created a wave-powered generator, various hybrid engines and has worked in solar. In 2003 he started Seahorse Power, which makes BigBelly, using start-up funds from his Babson College M.B.A. program. “Any business effort I made had to have good consequences for the environment,” Poss says.

In the New York City borough of Queens, 44 BigBellies have cut down on pickups 70% since the city deployed the units a year ago. “We’re very pleased,” says Joseph Leary, spokesman for New York Power Authority. “People appreciate the equipment as a sensible application of renewable-energy technology.”

Large and green, the BigBelly from

the outside also resembles a mailbox.

“We don’t want people putting their tax farms in there,” joked Boston official Timothy McCarthy as he introduced Beantown’s 50 BigBellies to residents. It’s the mechanics inside that makes the trash compactors so distinctive. Each is equipped with a 40-watt solar panel connected to a 12-volt battery, which runs the motor (the battery guarantees that the BigBelly works rain or shine). At 540 lbs., it’s not easy to steal. The unit costs about \$4,000, about 10 times the price of a conventional garbage can.

When the bin is full, sensors trigger gears that then compact 180 gal. of waste into 40-lb., easy-to-collect bags. An LED display indicates when the trash is ready to be picked up. Poss has plans for that system to be replaced by a wireless one that will signal when the can is full. —By Kathleen Kingsbury





**JAAKO HAPPONEN**  
ENFUCELL  
ESPOO, FINLAND

## Flat Battery: It Works On Paper

IF SAVING BITS OF ENERGY AND ENVIRONMENT here and there add up, then Finland's Enfucell has a battery that will help people make a difference by cutting down on all the metal, lithium and alkaline that leaks from conventional cells. "Our battery doesn't have to go to the battery-recycle bin. It's disposable as household waste," says Jaako Happonen, 50, Enfucell's chief executive.

Enfucell, based outside Helsinki, builds

batteries out of paper. Its Soft-Battery works much the same way as ordinary "button" batteries (like the one in your watch) and "finger" batteries (think AA). Ions travel from an anode, pass through a solution called an electrolyte to a cathode and emerge as an electrical charge. Instead of running ions through metal casings full of toxic and corrosive substances like lithium and alkaline, Enfucell uses a thin paper sheet as a conduit. It pastes one side with zinc and the other side with manganese dioxide. Ions flow through an electrolyte solution of water and zinc chloride within the paper.

The batteries are not only environmentally friendly but they're also cheap. Happonen says he will be able to sell his SoftBatteries for about a penny each once he hits mass production. Today's button batteries sell in bulk for about 20¢ each. Because the 0.4-mm-thin SoftBattery is made from paper, Enfucell can make sheets of the stuff and size them to specific applications. An average size would be about 2 in. by 2 in.

Enfucell batteries won't power your digital camera, your flashlight or your watch. At 1.5 volts they might be suffi-

Happonen says Enfucell's SoftBattery could eventually become electric paper, infinitely reusable

The SoftBattery works the same way as ordinary AA batteries—but it uses paper as its conduit



**“Our battery doesn't go to the battery-recycle bin. It's disposable as household waste.”** —Jaako Happonen

ciently powerful, but they don't last long enough. Rather, Happonen hopes first to sell large quantities to the makers of RFID (radio frequency identification) tags, which don't draw constant power and lend themselves to the battery's thinness. RFID tags are the tiny chips that are replacing bar codes. They wirelessly transmit information about themselves, making it easier to track, say, what's in stock in a store. Battery-powered RFID tags can transmit farther than non-battery-powered versions and push RFID signals through liquid and aluminum cans—two common signal stoppers in supermarkets. The market potential is in the billions if RFID technology expands as predicted.

Happonen is also targeting musical greeting cards and LED-adorned marketing brochures. Another market: makers of cosmetic and medical patches. Happonen notes that battery-powered antiwrinkle and stop-smoking patches are more effective than those without a power boost. With a nicotine patch, "in the morning when you need a bigger dose of nicotine, you push a button," he says.

For now, the four-year-old company is getting by on \$900,000 in financing from the Finnish government and venture-capital backers. Happonen envisions a day when his paper battery could power electronic paper. Ironically, one paper product, the SoftBattery, would undermine the future of another, traditional writing and print paper. The world could then hold onto a few more of its trees. That would be no little thing. —By Mark Halper

Mastering Hemophilia



Winning Freedom

Science For A Better Life



Children love running, climbing, swimming and simply jumping around. And they often end up falling over.

This doesn't usually do any harm – a bruise here, a cut there, perhaps. But for children suffering from hemophilia, even small injuries can be life-threatening.

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when the storm comes,  
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# Extra: Newspapers Aren't Dead

Some predict their imminent demise, but the dailies remain profitable, popular and powerful. Here's why they'll survive

BY JEREMY CAPLAN



*"Contrary to popular belief, newspapers aren't dying. Newspapers are making tons of money."*

— MARK CUBAN

## The News

### The Tycoons Are Rushing to Make a Deal

When the Tribune Co., owner of the Chicago *Tribune* and the Los Angeles *Times*, went on the block, it was another response to stockholders' insatiable demand for rising returns, even for papers with loyal readership and steady ad support. But now that a bevy of bigwig buyers are itching to own prestigious dailies, newspapers in key markets may benefit from a return to private ownership. Why would baron bidders like Hank



Greenberg

Greenberg, Jack Welch and David Geffen—who have expressed interest in the Tribune Co., the Boston *Globe* and the L.A. *Times*, respectively—rush in to bet on slow-growth newspapers? Perhaps they're aware that 85% of adults either read a paper every week or visit its website. Less pressure from Wall Street may forestall short-term cuts, enabling papers to shift their focus from quarterly earnings toward rethinking the print game. "Newspapers are in a strong position to extend off-line publications online," says Alexia Quadrani, media analyst for Bear Stearns, "and they're still highly profitable."

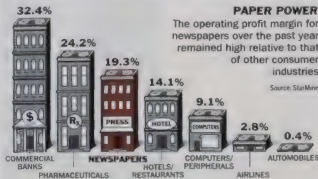
### Google Caught in Print!

Newspaper ads still generate \$48 billion a year, three times the amount spent for online ads, which is why ad-driven Net companies like Google, Yahoo and Monster.com have spent the past few months setting up partnerships with print publishers. Yahoo signed 176 papers for a deal to post classifieds online, and Google is helping an additional 50 use the

**New deals with Yahoo and Monster.com will boost papers' digital classifieds**

Web to sell their ad space more efficiently. That's a crucial development because the recent stagnation in print-ad revenue has been aggravated by the industry's archaic sales system, which has made it difficult for small businesses to buy space in

the nation's 1,200 dailies. Google will help remedy that. But the story won't end there. "The word newspaper is going to disappear," says Scott Bosley, executive director of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. "Newspaper companies will become information companies. We'll do well because we have the best news resources and the most at stake."



### Bottom Line: Deep Black

Despite concerns about ad and circulation drop-offs, publishers, for now, maintain profit margins that most companies can only dream about—nearly double that of the average FORTUNE 500 outfit. Gannett, with a net margin of 25.3% over the past year, generated almost \$1.5 billion in operating cash flow. Its debt, like most in the industry, is modest. "The strong balance sheets and cash flows of companies such as Gannett, Tribune and the Washington Post give them the financial flexibility to reach readers in new ways," says Tim Gaurer, director of research for StarMine, a financial-analysis firm. "Whether through investments, partnerships or acquisitions, that flexibility improves their future prospects."

### Face-Lifts Ahead

Papers are experimenting with new formats and products to hang on to advertising and compete more aggressively with cable and online news.

■ In replacing stock tables, sport stats and TV listings with service features, publishers are adapting to the ubiquitous availability of raw information.

■ To expand their audiences, papers are launching Spanish editions, free commuter dailies and glossy magazine inserts.

■ By launching writer blogs and posting rough drafts of cartoons and editorials online, some editors are encouraging more community involvement.

■ Gannett has announced a new "crowd-sourcing" policy, enabling editors to draw on reporting from readers.



# THE HOSPITAL WARS

Surgery and imaging centers owned by doctors are swiping patients from traditional hospitals. Competition is good, right? Not always in health care, where an arms race keeps the costs rising

By Unmesh Kher/Wichita

**K**EVIN CONLIN HAS A PROBLEM. PHYSICIANS IN Wichita have been catching a bug. An entrepreneurial bug. One that compels them to build highly specialized hospitals, diagnostic imaging facilities stocked with next-generation scanners, and same-day surgery centers that have hotel-like touches. Conlin, CEO of the \$1.2 billion nonprofit Via Christi Health System in Kansas, complains that these outfits are competing unfairly against St. Francis and St. Joseph, his two general hospitals in Wichita. And he intends to do something about it. Via Christi provided Kansans with some \$30 million in charity care and \$33 million in unpaid Medicaid services this year. Conlin says Via Christi can no longer afford those costs if it keeps losing money to the new guys. "We're left with no option," says Conlin, "but to set a limit on how much of this kind of work we're going to do. Only then will we have a public conversation about the issues this phenomenon raises."

That phenomenon has sparked a war between hospitals and doctors across the country that is transforming the landscape of the U.S. health-care system—while not necessarily improving it. Hospital bosses say doctors, who wield huge influence over their patients, steer the most profitable procedures to facilities they own and shunt the least lucrative ones to the general hospital. This threatens the ability of the





## THE OLD GUARD

Via Christi chief Kevin Conley, at St. Francis' CyberHeart launch, says physicians' entrepreneurial concerns justify

# VS.

## THE UPSTARTS

Dr. Gregory Dulick, co-founder of the Kansas Heart Hospital, says his tightly run ship treats both patients and doctors better

general hospital to provide money-losing services like emergency care, which it subsidizes in part with profits from procedures like cardiac surgery. The specialty competitors deny that they are the problem. Quite the opposite. "We raise the bar for the community," says Ed French, CEO of MedCath, which runs 12 specialty hospitals. "Everybody invests in more equipment and focuses more on nursing care because we set the competitive standard."

But researchers led by Paul Ginsburg at the Center for Studying Health System Change (HSC) in Washington find that this standard is fueling a de facto medical arms race, a competition that, perversely, increases health-care costs. Competition is not supposed to do that, but in the topsy-turvy U.S. health economy, excess supply often induces demand.

Hospital executives are responding to the assault of specialists by building and aggressively marketing profitable "service lines," like cancer, heart and brain centers. They're snapping up \$1.4 million computed tomography (CT) scanners, which produce palpably detailed, 3-D pictures of bones and organs, and \$2.2 million "high field" MRI machines that can watch the brain at work. The inflationary dynamic spawned by this expansion of health-care capacity exposes flaws in the payment system that sustains U.S. health care. Those flaws partly explain why Americans spend \$2 trillion, or 16% of their GDP, for medical care, an outlay that's increasing roughly 7% annually.

There are only about 130 specialty hospitals in the U.S., compared with some 5,000 community hospitals, but dozens more are in the works since Congress this summer lifted a three-year moratorium on Medicare payments to new specialty hospitals. These typically focus on orthopedic and cardiac surgeries—which account for more than half the profits of many hospitals—and most lack costly emergency rooms. As these and other doctor-owned facilities spread and tensions soar, hospitals are finding it harder to get specialists on call in their ERs, reports HSC researcher Dr. Robert Berenson in a study published on the Web this week by *Health Affairs*.

Ambulatory Surgery Centers (ASCs), which compete with hospital outpatient departments for procedures that don't require overnight stays, like colonoscopies and some joint surgeries, are hollowing out hospitals as well. There are almost 5,000 ASCs today, nearly twice as many as a decade ago. Four in five are at least partly owned by physicians, many in partnership with hospitals seeking to minimize losses. The number of

imaging centers has climbed to 6,037, up from 4,159 in 2001, according to the data firm Verispan. The scanning machines are costly to maintain, but once those costs are covered, the machines mint money. "There's an intense market-share competition taking place between hospital outpatient departments and imaging centers," says John Donahue, chairman of National Imaging Associates, which manages radiology for insurers in 36 states. "This battle is under way in Florida, Texas and virtually every state in which we operate."

Wichitans have had front-row seats to the war. In 1997, disgruntled cardiologists led by Dr. Gregory Duick approached Via Christi about establishing a heart hospital. "There was no grand conspiracy to make more dollars for doctors," says Duick. "It was fanned by frustration with the hospitals' inability to get things done and a lack of input from physicians on administration." When Via Christi declined, the doctors tapped local investors, and in 1999 opened the smartly designed, one-story Kansas Heart Hospital in a tony northeastern quadrant of town.

Kansas Heart triggered a cascade. This quiet, airy city of 540,000 already had—besides Via Christi's hospitals—the Wesley Medical Center, part of the for-profit HCA chain. Wichita now has five doctor-owned hospitals as well, along with a dozen ASCs and at least 10 free-standing diagnostic imaging centers, eight of which have physician investors. (Via Christi has a share in four of them, as it does in one ASC and a specialty hospital.) "The fear that emergency rooms and cardiovascular programs would close at community hospitals," says Duick, "has not been borne out over seven years in Wichita."

Money isn't the only motivator. Entrepreneurial physicians say they're tired of waiting for inefficiently scheduled hospital ORs to open up, that they're more productive and have better nursing support at their own facilities. Scott Barlow, CEO of the Central Utah Clinic in Provo, which runs an ASC, says that until the clinic bought its own imaging machines, patients had to wait up to 24 days to get a diagnostic scan at the nearby hospital. "This is about convenience, lower cost and higher quality," says Glen Tullman, CEO of Allscripts, an electronic-

medical-records firm that works with ASCs and specialty hospitals. "Nobody in health care wants to be on the wrong side of that equation."

But is the competition fair? Within two years after Galichia Heart Hospital opened in Wichita in 2001, Wesley's net revenues from its cardiovascular program plummeted from a notch above \$18 million to roughly \$2 million. In 2003 the Kansas Spine Hospital opened, and in a year Wesley's neu-

rology—largely with profits from surgeries. They also hike the prices they charge insurers and employers, who give hospitals a 22% margin, according to researchers at the Lewin Group, a consultancy, helping cover overall losses of 5% or more from Medicare and Medicaid. That comes back to the rest of us as higher insurance premiums, making health care all the more costly to employers.

Physician-owned facilities do less charity care and treat fewer Medicaid patients than community hospitals do, government research shows. And they treat healthier (hence more profitable) patients, or—as in the case of heart hospitals—favor well-remunerated treatments. Not surprisingly, doctors who own a piece of the action are more likely to send patients to their own facilities.

The shift of patients can be devastating. Regionally owned Lincoln General Hospital in Ruston, La., lost about \$2.5 million in business a year to imaging centers and an ASC, but was managing to stay afloat, according to CEO Tom Stone. Then, in 2003, the 40 physicians who ran the ASC opened the Green Clinic Surgical Hospital. Lincoln's inpatient and ambulatory surgeries halved, and by 2005 the hospital was \$8 million in the red. "They've gone beyond cherry-picking," says Stone. "They've removed virtually everything they could take out of this facility." He is selling the hospital to a for-profit chain.

Green Clinic's CEO, Robert Goodwill, says Lincoln just screwed up. Its board declined an offer to invest in the specialty hospital, he says, and the hospital's losses stem from a "spending binge." Stone began in his attempt to compete. "Patients are choosing us because we're vastly superior," Goodwill says. But hospital bosses say this choice isn't a real one. "You're not going to disagree with the guy who's going to be cuttin' on you," says John Goodnow, CEO of Benefis Healthcare, a hospital system in Great Falls, Mont., that tried unsuccessfully to shut down a specialty hospital opened by half the city's doctors. "You can say patients have choice. Yes, theoretically. But c'mon, who's going to go against their own physician?"

Hospitals are fighting back in none-too-subtle ways. Some won't let an ASC physician-investor admit patients in their



**FOCUS**  
A patient, top, at St. Francis' ER. Kansas Heart, which doesn't have an ER, sticks to profitable cardiac care, above

rosurgery revenues dropped \$8.8 million, to roughly \$1 million. Via Christi cardiovascular surgeries declined from 4,334 in 1998 to an estimated 2,950 this year. In that period, its executives say, the number of nonsurgically treated cardiac patients—who, say, have heart failure—remained relatively steady, around 4,300.

This matters, as Medicare reimburses most surgeries above the cost of care and nonsurgical treatments at lower rates, sometimes below cost. Hospitals make up the losses—and those from treating the

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wards. And powerful health systems often use their leverage to lock physician-owned competitors out of preferred networks of insurers. Via Christi owns Kansas' largest managed-care plan; Wesley has an exclusive contract in Wichita with the state's leading insurer, Blue Cross and Blue Shield. "It's brutal competition," says David Laird, CEO of the Heart Hospital of Austin, which competes with the Texas nonprofit Seton Medical Center. "They act like they have a halo over their heads."

Such competition is fueling the arms race. Via Christi is counterattacking with a new neuromedicine service line. The weapons: a 64-slice CT scanner; and a brand-new \$3.5 million CyberKnife, an X-ray gun that zaps tumors with pinpoint precision, housed in its own \$1.5 million building. It has set up a stroke-treatment center and brain-aneurysm lab. "This is one of the areas that we've beefed up since all the specialty stuff happened," says Larry Schumacher, CEO of Via Christi's Wichita operations. "We're trying very hard to protect that." Wesley, for its part, has remodeled its operating rooms, opened a \$54 million, four-story critical-care building and invested in its own gadgetry. "We compete on technology and have to stay state of the art," says Francie Ekengren, chief medical officer.

**LOOKING IN**  
**Doctors and corporate chains like InSight Health are rapidly expanding imaging centers. MRIs can be highly profitable**

And if they build it, we'll fill it. The Medicare Payment Advisory Commission found that health-care markets with specialty hospitals have roughly 6% more cardiac surgeries and 9% more bypasses than markets without them. It's not that doctors deliberately push unnecessary surgery, but when a choice of treatments exists, capacity and monetary incentives have been known to influence the choices physicians make.

Nowhere is this more apparent than in diagnostic imaging. Last year Americans spent more than \$100 billion on outpatient scans. Medicare's imaging costs have been growing 16% a year, much faster than the 9.6% rise for all physician services. The most lucrative—MRI and CT—climbed 25% last year. A third of the testing, says Donahue of National Imaging, is inappropriate; doctors order unnecessary scans, or two when one would suffice. "This is one of the most unsavory and concerning areas of how imaging is delivered," he says. "It's when imaging studies are not based upon clinical needs but on entrepreneurial requirements." Much of the growth is coming

from cardiologists and orthopedists, who increasingly own such devices. It angers radiologists, who rely on referrals, and even imaging-center executives. "There should be some relief on the physician self-referral problem," says Bret Jorgensen, CEO of the chain InSight Health. "It's the single biggest reason imaging centers have been growing so rapidly." Physicians say much of the supposedly excessive testing is defensive. "If you fail to do a test and there's a bad outcome," says Dr. Kim Allan Williams, a nuclear cardiologist at the University of Chicago, "you will get sued in this country."

Congress and the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services (CMS) have taken steps to rein in imaging. Beginning next year, imaging centers will see payment cuts that the industry and its manufacturing allies—GE, Siemens, Phillips—say will reduce some payments to 20% of the cost of doing them. To level the specialty-hospital playing field, CMS will pay hospitals more for their more complex cases. Similarly it proposes to pay ASCs at 62% the rate of hospital outpatient departments. The industry is asking for 75%. Lobbyists are racing to the scene.

Though these changes are probably a step in the right direction, they do not directly address the problem of physician self-referral—or the distorted economics that underpin the rise of specialty facilities. Next year Medicare will pay physicians more for the time they spend on their patients' well-being, but, HSC researcher Dr. Hoangmai Pham notes, it still rewards them far more generously for procedures than for cognitive services like diagnosis and management of disease. So Wichita, which 15 years ago had seven psychiatric inpatient facilities, now has one, run by Via Christi. It has six that do heart surgeries.

Further, since physicians get paid through fee-for-service rather than, say, for curing their patients, their primary incentive is to do more stuff. CMS is starting to experiment with pay-for-performance programs that address this concern. But such measures can work only if they are remunerative enough to counter the base incentives that drive excess care. "A few pennies here and there is not going to change what physicians do every day," says Pham. "They're not stupid, and they have business managers."

And political clout. As do the manufacturers of medical technology. So creating a payment system that makes competition work as it ought to—reducing costs rather than inflating them—won't be easy. But the same can be said for living in a society that can't afford its sick and dying. —With reporting by Pat Dawson/Billings and Hilary Hyton/Austin





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**BUSTED**

Members of the Milwaukee County sheriff's office make an arrest on an outstanding warrant



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SOCIETY

# THE NEXT CRIME WAVE

Violent offenses are rising in midsize U.S. cities for the first time in 10 years. A closer look at one Midwestern town shows what's behind the uptick—and why we shouldn't expect it to slow anytime soon

BY KATHLEEN KINGSBURY  
PHOTOGRAPHS FOR TIME  
BY JAMES NACHTWEY—VII



**STREET SWEEP**

Milwaukee cops detain a man on suspicion of selling a bag of crack cocaine, above; an officer holds the evidence, right



## Milwaukee saw the nation's largest jump in homicides last year—up 40%

IT'S AS IF MILWAUKEE, WIS., HAD REVERTED TO A STATE OF LETHAL chaos. A Special Olympian is killed for his wallet as he waits for a bus. An 11-year-old girl is gang-raped by as many as 19 men. A woman is strangled, her body found burning in a city-owned garbage cart. Twenty-eight people are shot, four fatally, over a holiday weekend.

These are the kinds of crimes American cities expected never to see in high numbers again. In the 1990s police departments nationwide began applying the so-called broken-windows theory: arrest the bad guys for minor offenses, and they wouldn't be around to commit more serious ones. This zero-tolerance approach—combined with more cops on the street to enforce it, a strong economy and a fortuitous demographic change that reduced the population of young men who typically cause the most trouble—lowered the rates of murder, robbery and rape for 10 consecutive years. Until last year. Not only did crime suddenly begin to rise in 2005, but the most violent crimes led the trend. Homicides shot up 3.4%. Robberies, 3.9%. Aggravated assaults, 1.8%. Hardest hit were not metropolises like New York City and Los Angeles but cities with populations between 400,000 and 1 million—such as Baltimore, Md.; Charlotte, N.C.; St. Louis, Mo.; and Oakland, Calif.—and this year looks to see similar rates of increase, if not worse.

Few places have suffered more than Milwaukee. The homicide count for the city of 590,000 fell from 130 in 1996 to just 88 in 2004. But last year, according to FBI figures, Milwaukee saw the country's largest jump in homicides—up 40%, to 121. This year's total will probably be lower, but as the killings over that bloody holiday weekend and other crimes show, violence has returned to the city. "You'll be able to read about something even more heinous tomorrow," laments Milwaukee Archbishop Timothy Dolan. "People are scared."

Like the residents of dozens of other recently crime-afflicted midsize cities across the country, people in Milwaukee are trying to figure out why their town has suddenly become so dangerous. While the cohort of young adults is ground zero for violent crime, the reason isn't as simple as a rapidly growing population. Since the late 1990s, the number of Americans under 30 has increased at a rate consistent with that of the general U.S. population, about 6%. Some other likely explanations have emerged.

### FEWER COPS ON THE BEAT

MOST MUNICIPALITIES COUNT ON GRANTS FROM THE JUSTICE Department's State and Local Law Enforcement Assistance and Office of Community-Oriented Policing Services, or COPS, program to help pay for officers on their force. But \$1.9 billion, or 45%,



of that funding has disappeared since the Sept. 11 terrorism attacks, as federal resources are increasingly directed toward homeland security and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Midsize cities, which depend more heavily on federal funds than larger ones do, have nearly 25% fewer officers than they did in 2001, and the White House's budget proposal for next year would sweep away an additional \$1.5 billion.

In Milwaukee, cops' universal hiring funds dropped from more than \$1 million in 2002 to zero last year. That has left more than 200 police vacancies out of a force less than 2,000 strong. The city is hard pressed to fill the gap, since the police budget eats up nearly the entire Milwaukee tax levy of \$213 million. Mayor Tom Barrett is hoping that the



feds will start pitching in again. "We've spent five years on homeland security," Barrett says. "Now we need to focus on a little hometown security."

Further exacerbating the city's police shortage is the redeployment of cops from the streets of Milwaukee to those of Baghdad, Mosul and Kabul. As many as 135 officers at one time have gone on leave to serve in Wisconsin's National Guard or military reserve units in Iraq and Afghanistan. "It's difficult to manage a force that's always coming and going," says police chief Nanette Hegerty. Those left to hold down the fort at home feel overstretched and underappreciated. "Morale is low," says Officer John Balcerzak, head of the police union. "We're racing to a new crime before we've investigated the last. That leaves criminals out there on the streets."

Residents feel equally frustrated. "The police simply showing up can be half the battle in many people's minds," says Steve O'Connell, who lives in the working-class Sherman Park neighborhood. This summer, Milwaukee's 911 dispatchers received, on average, 1,700 calls a day. As police captain Donald Gaglione told a community meeting, "If your 911 call is not a high priority, it may take several hours before we respond, if at all." But

people who live in volatile neighborhoods say they need police to intercede before minor disturbances become serious matters.

If police are struggling to answer 911 calls, they have even less time to patrol neighborhoods, so they can't build the trust essential to preventing crime. Tensions between the city's African-American community and police are particularly high—40% of the population is black and 47% is white, but there are three times as many white cops on the force. As Alderman Ashanti Hamilton explains, "If the only time people in black neighborhoods see a police officer there it is to arrest somebody, then, of course, they're going to be nervous." Chief Hegerty says repairing this relationship is critical. "We have to count on law-abiding residents to tell us what's going on in their neighborhoods," she says.

Ester Hodges learned that the hard way. A former construction worker who moved into a west-side Milwaukee home three years ago, she says a neighbor's young daughters terrorized her street and, more personally, bullied her children. Hodges, 48, became a one-woman block watch, calling the police regularly, buying surveillance cameras with her own money and speaking out at community meetings. "I let the police know time after time that trouble was coming," she says. Briefly last spring the police monitored her area more closely. Three weeks after the patrols stopped, however, Hodges says, a threatening group showed up at her house. Police still haven't sorted out exactly what happened next, but by the end, Hodges had been shot in the stomach. No charges have been brought in her shooting. She survived, and her neighbors eventually moved, but police are investigating whether Hodges may have taken justice into her own hands by firing at her antagonists. No one else was hit.

#### HANDICAPPING

With federal funds that once helped pay for extra police going to the war against terrorism, the city now has 200 fewer cops on its force

#### MORE PAROLEES ON THE STREET

U.S. PRISONS RELEASE AN AVERAGE OF 630,000 inmates each year, and that number will rise for the foreseeable future as more and more sentences run out from arrests made during the Reagan Administration's war on drugs in the 1980s and the zero-tolerance crackdown in the '90s. Calculate in average recidivism rates of 40% for those released from federal penitentiaries and 67% for those who leave state facilities, and it's clear that more crimes are being committed because there are simply more criminals around to commit them. Says Milwaukee district attorney E. Michael McCann: "We're charging the same guys who came through our doors 10 or 20 years ago."

A commission set up to study the city's worst homicides found that 50% of both homicide perpetrators and victims in 2005 had been previously arrested. One in five was on probation or parole at the time of the slaying. "It's shocking to see the criminal histories of the people in these cases," says University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee professor Steve Brandt, one of the commissioners. "They seem destined for a life of imprisonment."

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The majority of the parolees entered prison in their early 20s or late teens. Most never finished school or held a job, and they lack the skills to do so. In Wisconsin 70% of prisoners struggle with drug or alcohol addiction. "If we don't want to see them again and again, we've got to offer them more than the clothes on their backs, a Greyhound ticket and \$15 in their pocket," says Dolan, referring to aid cons receive when they leave prison. Even those who participated in substance-abuse counseling and the few education and job-training programs available while inside say those initiatives didn't prepare them for life back on the streets.

Resources outside are even more limited. Milwaukee has 160 halfway beds for recently released inmates, but those beds are so in demand that a parolee can stay a maximum of just 90 days. "Ideally we'd have five to 10 times the number of beds we do, and we could tailor the stay for each ex-offender," says Steve Swigart, whose nonprofit Wisconsin Community Services runs such facilities. Often the alternative is sleeping on a drug-house sofa or rejoining a gang simply for a place to bunk.

When Annie Schrader, 46, was released from prison in 2002, her only employment had been running an escort service and dealing drugs. A long job search yielded no possibilities and a deepening depression. "It's a huge problem because you know you can flip some dope and make a lot of money," says Schrader, who now counsels other ex-cons through a ministry called StretcherBearers.

#### TACTICAL MANEUVERS

Milwaukee County sheriff's officers use traffic stops in high-crime areas as opportunities to check for drugs and weapons

#### HIGHER UNEMPLOYMENT

SINCE 1998, WISCONSIN HAS LOST NEARLY 90,000 manufacturing jobs. Milwaukee has suffered the brunt of that, hemorrhaging 7,500 positions in 2005 alone. The unemployment rate hovers around 7%, up from 2.6% in 1998 and nearly double the national average. In inner-city neighborhoods, the level rises to nearly 60% for working-age males. With only half of adults earning more than a high school diploma, the city's residents aren't well matched for the white-collar jobs most common today. The number of able men wandering the streets in the daytime is striking.

Barrett's administration has tried to address unemployment through a huge investment in real estate development and tax incentives to attract business. The mayor says those efforts have created more than 10,000 local jobs. Most of them, however, are either high-tech positions beyond the skills of many Milwaukee residents or low-wage service slots in retail shops and chain restaurants that pay less than needed to support a family.

"People who have put in a full day's work are generally too tired to go out and terrorize the neighborhood by night," alderman Willie Wade says. Employment can assuage other social ills. It leads to more homeownership—meaning fewer absentee landlords and the drug houses that can go with them. And a job can anchor an entire family. Says Wade: "A little money in his pocket can convince a man to be a father to his children instead of stealing his neighbor's Cadillac." ■

# What's Toxic In Toyland

San Francisco's ban on toys like these has sparked a sharp debate about the dangers of plastic contaminants

By MARGOT ROOSEVELT LOS ANGELES

**T**HEY LINE THE NURSERY SECTION OF children's toy stores like brightly colored candies: rubber duckies for bathtime, chewable rings for teething, soft-covered books for pawing and mouthing. Parents shopping for their babies can be forgiven if they assume that everything on those shelves is 100% child safe. So why did the city of San Francisco issue a ban last week on the sale of certain plastic toys aimed at children under 3? And why are activists warning holiday shoppers in the most alarming terms against buying them? "Sucking on some of these teething and toys," says Rachel Gibson of Environment California, a nonprofit, "is like sucking on a toxic lollipop."

At issue are contaminants in plastics used to make the toys. Environmentalists have long argued that some of these chemicals can leach out and harm children, pointing to animal studies that link the substances to birth defects, cancer and developmental abnormalities. Those warnings are hotly disputed by the chemical industry and toy manufacturers, which cite stacks of scientific studies that have found the plastics to be safe at federally approved levels. But the issue has gained traction on the strength of new evidence from independent and university-sponsored studies. The European Union has

banned some chemicals in toys since 1999, and now half a dozen state legislatures are considering similar laws.

The controversy centers on a family of chemicals called phthalates (pronounced "thalates"), which are used to soften vinyl, and on bisphenol A (BPA), a substance used to make clear and shatterproof plastic. Most are known to be so-called endocrine disrupters, capable of interfering with the hormones that regulate masculinity and femininity. Several hundred animal studies have linked phthalates to prostate and breast cancers, abnormal genitals, early puberty onset and obesity. More recently, they've been shown to affect humans as well. In a paper published last year in the journal *Environmental Health Perspectives*, scientists from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and several universities found that boys born to mothers with higher phthalate levels are far more likely to show altered genital development, linked to incomplete testicular descent. Harvard School of Public Health studies report that men with higher phthalate levels have lower sperm counts and damaged sperm DNA.

The American Chemistry Council (ACC), which represents manufacturers such as ExxonMobil and Dow Chemical, says the crackdowns on toys are not justified by the science. "The E.U. aims to ban products that show adverse effect at very high doses in



## LABORATORY RESULTS

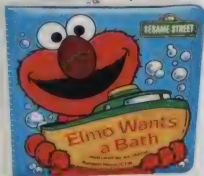
STAT Analysis Corp. was engaged by the San Francisco Chronicle to test 16 baby products. It found these chemicals:

**Bisphenol A** Linked to obesity and breast and prostate cancer in lab animals

**DEHP** A phthalate that interferes with the development of male hormone in rats

**DnOP** A suspected endocrine disrupter

● NOT DETECTED ● DETECTED



Sesame Street Bath Book  
Random House

Bisphenol A DEHP DnOP

● ● ●

Part tested: Book cover



**Rubber ducky**  
Sold by Walgreen

Bisphenol A DEHP DnOP



**Part tested:** Duck body



**Baby bottle with fish**  
Walgreen Brand

Bisphenol A DEHP DnOP



**Part tested:** Bottle plastic



**Rattle**  
Baby Einstein/Disney

Bisphenol A DEHP DnOP



**Part tested:** Clear ring of rattle



**Fun Ice Soothing Ring**  
Munchkin Inc.

Bisphenol A DEHP DnOP



**Part tested:** Plastic ring

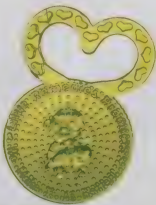


**Fuzzy Fleece Baby**  
Goldberger Doll

Bisphenol A DEHP DnOP



**Part tested:** Doll face



**Little Remedies Teether**  
Prestige Brands

Bisphenol A DEHP DnOP



**Part tested:** Teething ring

rats," says the ACC's Marian Stanley. "Many essential products are made from starting materials that can be quite toxic at high doses. This does not mean that the final consumer products are toxic." As for recent phthalate studies on humans, she says, they are either preliminary or "overhyped." Meanwhile, toy companies are relying on a 2001 review by a Consumer Product Safety Commission panel that found "no demonstrated health risk" in toys made with DINP—one of the phthalates used in vinyl. Critics fault the panel for failing to examine the effect of DINP when combined with other phthalates.

The focus on BPA is new. Its use is widespread—it's found in dental sealants and the epoxy linings on food cans as well as in baby bottles. Studies in animals over the past five years have found that the substance, which mimics the human hormone estrogen, alters brain structure and chemistry as well as the immune system and reproductive organs. Some of these effects show up at extremely low doses, in some cases 2,000 times below the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) safety guideline, according to Frederick vom Saal, a University of Missouri endocrinologist. Chemical companies say the findings are not applicable to humans, but the federal National Toxicology Program has launched a reassessment of the safety standard. "The literature around BPA is very controversial," warns EPA scientist Earl Gray. "Next year's review should clarify things."

The problem for retailers—and parents—is that the U.S. does not require manufacturers to disclose ingredients in most consumer products. How can you tell which contain the contaminants when chemical companies guard the information as proprietary? "Stores have products stacked to the ceiling for the holidays," says Daniel Grossman, CEO of San Francisco's Wild Planet Toys. "They have no idea what has phthalates and what doesn't."

They may soon find out. The San Francisco Chronicle tested 16 toys tested in a private lab. One rubber ducky contained the phthalate DEHP at 13 times San Francisco's allowed level. A teether contained another phthalate at five times the limit. Meanwhile, a rattle, two waterproof books and a doll contained BPA, which is prohibited by the city at any level. Although the products comply with U.S. law, some toymakers, including Goldberger Doll, are cutting out phthalates. Richard Woo, owner of a local store called Citikids, estimates that he might have to pull a third of his items off the shelves. Next month manufacturers will go to court to block the new law. Whatever the ruling, parents will be left wondering how safe their children's toys really are. ■



# YEAH, I'M TALKIN' TO YOU

Robert De Niro on spies, acting and Matt Damon.  
What more do you need? By Belinda Luscombe

**H**E HAS PLAYED A DERANGED CAB-driver, an aggressively tattooed ex-con with revenge fantasies, several Mob bosses and an animated shark, but in few guises does Robert De Niro strike more fear into the heart of people than when they're interviewing him. TIME sent its most talkative editor to the office of the famously tight-lipped star, a few blocks from ground zero, for a conversation about *The Good Shepherd*, his second directorial effort (the first was 1993's *A Bronx Tale*).

The movie, written by Eric Roth, recounts the history of the CIA from World War II through its involvement in the Bay of Pigs. It is told through the life of Edward Wilson, an agency stalwart loosely based on long-serving counter-intelligence chief James Jesús Angleton, and tracks the price that a life of secrecy can exact. Despite the stellar cast—Matt Damon, Angelina Jolie, William Hurt and Alec Baldwin—it took De Niro, 63, and his producing partner Jane Rosenthal nearly eight years to get the film made. Although still not chatty, the star had quite a bit to say about the movie business, why he does comedies, and the

prospect of competing for an Oscar against his longtime friend, director Martin Scorsese.

**What is it about the cold war and the CIA that interests you? Is it the secretiveness and the covertness?** Yeah, all of that stuff. The movies that I've seen, other than the John le Carré ones, the other spy movies, they never really keep things under wraps. It's always like somebody's going to get shot. There's always that kind of a payoff. I looked for more original ways that somebody gets their comeuppance. Kind of like what happened in London the other day with [poisoned Russian spy Alexander] Litvinenko.

**Often when actors are directing they choose very actorly tales and intimate stories. But this movie has a lot of action. Were you fearful of trying something so new?** It was so hard to get the movie done and produced and backed, you don't even think about the rest. You take one day at a time, one step at a time, one moment at a time. At this point, after everything I've been through with the movie, I'm still amazed it got made.

**I thought if Robert De Niro wants to direct a movie, Robert De Niro gets to direct a movie. It's not so easy. Especially this movie. Matt was crucial. He said, "I love this script. I'd do it for nothing." And he did. Not for nothing, but practically. It couldn't have been done**

otherwise. A lot of people took less money. It was expensive as it is.

**Were the actors intimidated to be directed by the guy who created *Travis Bickle* [of *Taxi Driver*] and *Jake La Motta* [of *Raging Bull*]? I think that actors trust other actors, because they know what they're going through. And you're working and involved in what you're doing, so the other stuff goes away quickly.**

**How has acting changed in the 30 years since those movies?** Well, Matt is a younger actor, but very dedicated and very serious about what he does. And Leonardo DiCaprio is another. He's wonderful in *The Departed*.

**You considered him for this, right?** Yes, but schedulewise it was too complicated. Both Leo and Matt take it very seriously.

**Matt's performance in *The Good Shepherd* is very minimalist.** We had worked on that. We wanted to make sure his character was in check. It was important not to be too accessible or available. I always go back to what people do in reality. Would they do this in a real situation? So I'd say, You don't have to look at the person. You don't have to react. You can do nothing. And that will have more impact and power than anything you could do.

**As an actor, you are always very prepared. Did you completely immerse yourself in the ways of the CIA?** I read material and talked to people and spent time with ex-agents. We had Milt Bearden, who was our technical consultant. He was at the CIA for 30 years. He was very, very helpful. I'd say, I need something for this scene that will help make it a little more specific and not so general—details of something. When the hair falls out of the book [indicating it had been opened], that was Milt.

**Did the CIA ask you not to put stuff in?** No, they were very helpful.

**Did you have Martin Scorsese on speed dial?** From time to time I talked to Marty about certain things, yes. [Laughs]

**Why such a long time between directing stints?** I was working on this for eight years. And I wasn't offered much, actually.

**Would you welcome being offered more?** I don't know. I think if I directed five movies in my life—that's three more—that would be fine. They're a lot of work. I love to do it, but to do them right, it's a lot.

**Have you noticed that in both films you've made, the theme of honor and betrayal is very central?** Mmm-hmm.

**Why do you think that is?** I'm not sure. *A Bronx Tale*, that was Chazz Palminteri's



**CASTING A LONG SHADOW** Damon, getting some pointers on a scene, is "very dedicated and very serious," says De Niro

script, and it was what it was.

**The other thing that seems to be a constant in both movies is the relationship between fathers and sons. And I wonder if it's something you think about a lot.** Yes.

**You have four sons.** I do.

**And your father [artist Robert De Niro Sr.] was a big influence on your life?** Yes.

**Do you consider this a political film?** I don't know. I wouldn't say.

**You don't know or you wouldn't say?** I don't know. I think people should see it the way they want.

**Well, you're down here right near ground zero. It seems like this is not just an intellectual exercise for you.** When 9/11 happened, I didn't think the movie would ever be made.

**Because ...?** It's just when you saw that [he points out his window to where the towers were], this [he gestures to his office] doesn't mean anything. It's irrelevant. Everything changed.

**You've copped some criticism recently for straying away from performances like those in *The Godfather* or *Taxi Driver*.** How do you feel about that? Marty and [writer] Paul Schrader and I were trying to do a thing with Travis—this is about 15 years ago—where would he be at this point? But it just never seemed to happen.

**Do you do comedies because you want to explore that side of you or because you don't get offered the big, serious roles?** I enjoy the comedies because they're fun to do. Especially with Jay Roach [director of *Meet the Parents*]. I enjoy them. *Analyze This* and *That* were fun.

**Are you saying the serious ones aren't fun?** I like them too. It depends. Everything is what it is.

**But all your fans are so bewildered ...** I hope I won't disappoint them later. Maybe in a couple of movies. You know, they have to be offered to me.

**I guess you're not at the point of the career where you're going to hustle to get work.** Yeah. But it's nice to do something that you really have fun doing, whether it's a comedy or a drama, or a mixture of the two, which is always the best. The funny things that are serious. The ironies in characters and situations.

**What's next?** There's a movie we're working on, the remake of a French movie called *36*. And I'm in a movie from a book written by [producer] Art Linson and directed by Barry Levinson. It's about a Hollywood producer. I play the producer. It's based on real experiences that Art has had.

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**Important information about ADVAIR.** Prescription ADVAIR won't replace fast-acting inhalers for sudden symptoms and should not be taken more than twice a day. ADVAIR contains salmeterol. In patients with asthma, medicines like salmeterol may increase the chance of asthma-related death. So ADVAIR is not for people whose asthma is well controlled on another controller medicine. Talk to your doctor about the risks and benefits of treating your asthma with ADVAIR. If you are taking ADVAIR, see your doctor if your asthma does not improve. Tell your doctor if you have a heart condition or high blood pressure. Some people may experience increased blood pressure, heart rate, or changes in heart rhythm. ADVAIR is for patients 4 years and older. For patients 4 to 11 years old, ADVAIR 100/50 is for those who have asthma symptoms while on an inhaled corticosteroid.

\*People ages 12 years and older taking ADVAIR 100/50 experienced improved lung function and asthma symptom scores, and a reduction in fast-acting inhaler use compared with people taking either fluticasone propionate 100 mcg or salmeterol 50 mcg inhalation powders alone.

Please see important information about ADVAIR on the next page.

Results may vary.





# ADVAIR DISKUS 100/50, 250/50, 500/50

(fluticasone propionate 100, 250, 500 mcg and salmeterol 50 mcg inhalation powder)

## What is the most important information I should know about ADVAIR DISKUS?

In patients with asthma, long-acting beta-agonist medicines such as salmeterol (one of the medicines in ADVAIR) may increase the chance of death from asthma problems. In a large asthma study, more patients who used salmeterol died from asthma problems compared with patients who did not use salmeterol. So ADVAIR is not for patients whose asthma is well controlled on another asthma controller medicine such as low- to medium-dose inhaled corticosteroids or only need a fast-acting inhaler once in a while. Talk with your doctor about this risk and the benefits of treating your asthma with ADVAIR.

ADVAIR should not be used to treat a severe attack of asthma or chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD) requiring emergency medical treatment.

ADVAIR should not be used to relieve sudden symptoms or sudden breathing problems. Always have a fast-acting inhaler with you to treat sudden breathing difficulty if you do not have a fast-acting inhaler, contact your doctor to have one prescribed for you.

## What is ADVAIR DISKUS?

There are two medicines in ADVAIR. Fluticasone propionate, an inhaled anti-inflammatory belonging to a group of medicines commonly referred to as corticosteroids, and salmeterol, a long-acting, inhaled bronchodilator belonging to a group of medicines commonly referred to as beta<sub>2</sub>-agonists. There are 3 strengths of ADVAIR: 100/50, 250/50, 500/50.

### For Asthma

- ADVAIR is approved for the maintenance treatment of asthma in patients 4 years of age and older. ADVAIR should only be used if your doctor decides that another asthma controller medicine alone does not control your asthma or that you need 2 asthma controller medications.
- The strength of ADVAIR DISKUS for patients ages 4 to 11 years who experience symptoms on an inhaled corticosteroid is ADVAIR DISKUS 100/50. All 3 strengths are approved for patients with asthma ages 12 years and older.

### For COPD associated with chronic bronchitis

ADVAIR 250/50 is the only approved dose for the maintenance treatment of airflow obstruction in patients with COPD associated with chronic bronchitis. The benefit of using ADVAIR for longer than 6 months has not been evaluated. The way anti-inflammatories work in the treatment of COPD is not well defined.

## Who should not take ADVAIR DISKUS?

You should not start ADVAIR if your asthma is becoming significantly or rapidly worse, which can be life threatening. Serious respiratory events, including death, have been reported in patients who started taking salmeterol in this situation, although it is not possible to tell whether salmeterol contributed to these events. This may also occur in patients with less severe asthma.

You should not take ADVAIR if you have had an allergic reaction to it or any of its components (salmeterol, fluticasone propionate, or lactose). Tell your doctor if you are allergic to drugs, any other medications, or food products. If you experience an allergic reaction after taking ADVAIR, stop using ADVAIR immediately and contact your doctor. Allergic reactions are when you experience one or more of the following: choking, breathing problems, swelling of the face, mouth and/or tongue, rash, hives, itching, or welts on the skin.

## Tell your doctor about the following:

- If you are using your fast-acting inhaler more often or using more doses than you normally do (e.g., 4 or more inhalations of your fast-acting inhaler in 2 or more days in a row or a whole canister of your fast-acting inhaler in 8 weeks' time), it could be a sign that your asthma is getting worse. If this occurs, tell your doctor immediately.
- If you have been using your fast-acting inhaler regularly (e.g., four times a day), your doctor may tell you to stop the regular use of these medications.
- If your peak flow meter results decrease. Your doctor will tell you the numbers that are right for you.
- If you have asthma and your symptoms do not improve after using ADVAIR regularly for 1 week.
- If you have been on an oral steroid, like prednisone, and are now using ADVAIR. You should be very careful as you may be able to heal after surgery, infection, or serious injury. It takes a number of months for the body to recover its ability to make its own steroid hormones after use of oral steroids. Switching from an oral steroid may also unmask a condition previously suppressed by the oral steroid such as allergies, conjunctivitis, acne, arthritis, and esophageal conditions. Symptoms of an esophageal condition can include rash, worsening, breathing problems, heart conditions, and/or feeling of "pins and needles" or numbness in the arms and legs. Tell us to your doctor immediately if you experience any of these symptoms.
- Sometimes patients experience unexpected bronchospasm right after taking ADVAIR. This condition can be life threatening and if it occurs, you should immediately stop using ADVAIR and seek immediate medical attention.
- If you have any type of heart disease such as coronary artery disease, irregular heart beat or high blood pressure, ADVAIR should be used with caution. Be sure to talk with your doctor about your condition because salmeterol, one of the components of ADVAIR, may affect the heart by increasing heart rate and blood pressure. It may cause symptoms such as heart fluttering, chest pain, rapid heart rate, tremor, or nervousness.
- If you have seizures, especially those that occur without warning, or are sensitive to certain medications for breathing.
- If your breathing problems get worse over time or if your fast-acting inhaler does not work as well for you while using ADVAIR. If your breathing problems worsen quickly, get emergency medical care.
- If you have been exposed to or currently have chickenpox or measles or if you have an immune system problem. Patients using medications that weaken the immune system are more likely to get infections than healthy individuals. ADVAIR contains a corticosteroid (fluticasone propionate) which may weaken the immune system. Infections like chickenpox and measles, for example, can be very serious or even fatal in susceptible patients using corticosteroids.

## How should I take ADVAIR DISKUS?

ADVAIR should be used 1 inhalation, twice a day (morning and evening). ADVAIR should never be taken more than 1 inhalation twice a day. The full benefit of taking ADVAIR may take 1 week or longer.

If you miss a dose of ADVAIR, just skip that dose. Take your next dose at your usual time. Do not take two doses at one time.

Do not stop using ADVAIR unless told to do so by your doctor because your symptoms might get worse.

Do not change or stop any of your medicines used to control or treat your breathing problems. Your doctor will adjust your medicines as needed.

## When using ADVAIR, remember:

- Never breathe into or take the DISKUS<sup>®</sup> apart.
- Always use the DISKUS in a level position.
- After each inhalation, rinse your mouth with water without swallowing.
- Never wash any part of the DISKUS. Always keep it in a dry place.
- Never take an extra dose, even if you feel you did not receive a dose.
- Discard 1 month after removal from the foil overwrap.
- Do not use ADVAIR with a spacer device.

Children should use ADVAIR with an adult's help as instructed by the child's doctor.

Can I take ADVAIR with other medications? Tell your doctor about all the medications you take, including prescription and nonprescription medications, vitamins, and herbal supplements.

If you are taking ADVAIR, you should not take SEREVENT<sup>®</sup>, DISKUS<sup>®</sup> or Foradil<sup>®</sup> Aerolizer<sup>®</sup> for any reason.

If you take ritonavir (an HIV medication), tell your doctor. Ritonavir may interact with ADVAIR and could cause serious side effects. The anti-HIV medicines Norvir<sup>®</sup>, Seti Gelatin Capsules, Norvir Oral Solution, and Kaletra<sup>®</sup> contain ritonavir.

No formal drug interaction studies have been performed with ADVAIR.

In clinical studies, there were no differences in effects on the heart when ADVAIR was taken with varying doses of albuterol. The effect of using ADVAIR in patients with asthma while taking more than 9 puffs of a day of albuterol has not been studied.

ADVAIR should be used with extreme caution during and up to 2 weeks after treatment with monoamine oxidase (MAO) inhibitors or tricyclic antidepressants since these medications can cause ADVAIR to have an even greater effect on the circulatory system.

ADVAIR should be used with caution in people who are taking ketorolac (an antiinflammatory medication) or other drugs broken down by the body in a similar way. These medications can cause ADVAIR to have greater steroid side effects.

Generally, people with asthma should not take beta-blockers because they counteract the effects of beta<sub>2</sub>-agonists and may also cause severe bronchospasm. However, in some cases, for instance, following a heart attack, selective beta-blockers may still be used if there is no acceptable alternative.

The ECG changes and low or blood potassium that may occur with some diuretics may be made worse by ADVAIR, especially at higher-than-recommended doses. Caution should be used when these drugs are used together.

In clinical studies, there was no difference in side effects when ADVAIR was taken with methylxanthines (e.g., theophylline) or with FLOAISE<sup>®</sup>.

## What are other important safety considerations with ADVAIR DISKUS?

**Osteoporosis:** Long-term use of inhaled corticosteroids may result in bone loss (osteoporosis). Patients who are at risk for osteoporosis (or long-term use of drugs such as corticosteroids) may have a greater risk with ADVAIR. If you have risk factors for bone loss, you should talk to your doctor about ways to reduce your risk and whether you should have your bone density evaluated.

**Glaucoma and cataracts:** Glaucoma, increased pressure in the eyes, and cataracts have been reported with the use of inhaled steroids, including fluticasone propionate, a medicine contained in ADVAIR. Regular eye examinations should be considered if you are taking ADVAIR.

**Lower respiratory tract infection:** Lower respiratory tract infections, including pneumonia, have been reported with the use of inhaled corticosteroids, including ADVAIR.

**Blood sugar:** Salmeterol may affect blood sugar and/or cause low blood potassium in some patients, which could lead to a side effect like an irregular heart rate. Significant changes in blood sugar and blood potassium were seen infrequently in clinical studies with ADVAIR.

**Growth:** Inhaled steroids may cause a reduction in growth velocity in children and adolescents.

**Stretches:** Taking steroids can affect your body's ability to make its own steroid hormones, which are needed during infections and times of severe stress to your body, such as an operation. These effects can sometimes be seen with inhaled steroids (but it is more common with oral steroids), especially when taken at higher-than-recommended doses over a long period of time. In some cases, these effects may be severe. Inhaled steroids often help control symptoms with less side effects than oral steroids.

**Yeast infections:** Patients taking ADVAIR may develop yeast infections of the mouth and/or throat ("thrush") that should be treated by your doctor.

**Tuberculosis and other untreated infections:** ADVAIR should be used with caution, if at all, in patients with tuberculosis, herpes infections of the eye, or other untreated infections.

## What are the other possible side effects of ADVAIR DISKUS?

ADVAIR may produce side effects in some patients. In clinical studies, the most common side effects with ADVAIR included:

- |                                |                       |                                    |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| • Respiratory infections       | • Bronchitis          | • Musculoskeletal pain             |
| • Throat irritation            | • Cough               | • Dizziness                        |
| • Hoarseness                   | • Headaches           | • Fever                            |
| • Sinus infection              | • Nausea and vomiting | • Ear, nose, and throat infections |
| • Yeast infection of the mouth | • Diarrhea            | • Nosebleed                        |

Tell your doctor about any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away. These are not all the side effects with ADVAIR. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for more information.

## What if I am pregnant, planning to become pregnant, or nursing?

Talk to your doctor about the benefits and risks of using ADVAIR during pregnancy, labor, or if you are nursing. There have been no studies of ADVAIR used during pregnancy, labor, or in nursing women. Salmeterol is known to interfere with labor contractions. It is not known whether ADVAIR is excreted in breast milk, but other corticosteroids have been detected in human breast milk. Fluticasone propionate, like other corticosteroids, has been associated with birth defects in animals (e.g., cleft palate and fetal death). Salmeterol showed no effect on fertility in rats at 180 times the maximum recommended daily dose.

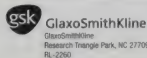
## What other important tests were conducted with ADVAIR?

There is no evidence of enhanced toxicity with ADVAIR compared with the components administered separately. In animal studies with doses much higher than those used in humans, salmeterol was associated with uterine tumors. Your healthcare professional can tell you more about how drugs are tested on animals and what the results of these tests may mean to your safety.

## For more information on ADVAIR DISKUS

This page is only a brief summary of important information about ADVAIR DISKUS. For more information, talk to your doctor. You can also visit [www.ADVAIR.com](http://www.ADVAIR.com) or call 1-888-825-5249. Patients receiving ADVAIR DISKUS should read the medication guide provided by the pharmacist with the prescription.

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# The Maya Are Us

Mel Gibson's latest film has a lot on its mind

**T**HE DIM PAST—THAT PLACE WHERE the mindlessly cruel and the idealistically aspiring meet in vicious conflict—has been good to Mel Gibson. It brought him Oscars for *Braveheart* and hundreds of millions of dollars for *The Passion of the Christ*. It satisfies his directorial bloodlust and permits him to traffic in easily read moral metaphors about the issues of our own day.

*Apocalypto*, set in 16th century Latin America, is more of the problematic same. By dawn's early light, a brutish

false idols and values and, for all its military might, is rotting from within. Even the simple village, before it is destroyed, revels in irrelevant pleasure. What everyone needs is, well, a savior. And that's where Jaguar Paw comes in. He is, for all intents and purposes, dead not once but half a dozen times in this movie, yet always manages a resurrection. He even has a spear wound in his abdomen, not unlike a certain other divine figure. Most important of all, he is at one with his universe. The natural order keeps

magically providing for this good son, because his heart is pure. There's even a moment when the Spanish conquistadores appear, crosses prominently displayed. But Jaguar Paw rejects this display of muscular, official Catholicism—as has Gibson, who prefers a less mainstream version of the faith.

Gibson loves operating in that historical



**BEFORE THE FALL** Jaguar Paw (Rudy Youngblood) and his father (Morris Bird) watch over their Edenic village

Maya war party falls upon an Edenic jungle village—murder, rape and enslavement their goal. Among their captives is Jaguar Paw who, having hidden his pregnant wife and firstborn, narrowly escapes—a little divine intervention here—having his heart cut out by the Maya high priests. He is then given the opportunity to run to save himself (and his family), which involves a high degree of athleticism and a lot of skill at improvising killing tools from such simple materials as come into his desperate hands.

If you care to accept all this as a well-made adventure story, feel free to do so. But taken in Gibsonian context, it is clear that something more than sadism stirs the director's soul. For one thing, he wants us to see that late Maya civilization is analogous in his view to our own. It is given to worshipping

territory where the record is sketchy and subject to mythic reinvention, which leaves him—and anyone else—free to fill in the blanks with whatever dubious ideological instruction he likes. You can also argue, less cosmically, that his works are no more than extensions of a very long line in epic, unconsciously risible filmmaking that imparts earnest metaphorical lessons about metaphysical topics, often enough from people who are painted blue or speaking a language that needs subtitles, or both, as in this film. Gibson is a primitive all right, but so were Cecil B. DeMille and D.W. Griffith, and somehow we survived their idiocies. Doubtless there will come a day when he joins them in the Valhalla of the vacuous. One or two more *Apocalypses* ought to do the trick. —By Richard Schickel

**Do you ever screen your old movies?** No.

**Do you stop and watch them if you catch them on TV?** Well, yes, I kinda do sometimes. If I'm totally unprepared for it, so I can be more objective, then I might.

**Do you have a favorite?** Of ones that I've been in? Well, the more I get feedback from people about movies they really like, the more I think, I like it too. [Laughs]

**Does the fact that you had to do so much work for *Raging Bull* make it special?** That was one I liked. We went somewhere with it. And it was with Marty. I want to do more movies with Marty. At least two more. No less than that. We will have done 10.

**You didn't want to do *The Departed*?** I wanted to do it. It was just scheduling. I was involved in *The Good Shepherd*. Marty knows I was sorry I couldn't do it.

**You and he could be up for Oscars against each other. You probably know enough about him to run some negative campaigning.** [Laughs] No. No. I hope he takes it. It would be about time.

**Anything else you still want to do?** If I'm so fortunate, I'd love to make a second part to this story. Eric Roth and I made a pact. If I directed *The Good Shepherd*, he would write a second movie, about where all the characters ended up. The last movie I direct, I would totally write myself.

**[Looking at the office]** I don't see any posters for your movies here. I like it like this. Pictures of my own stuff, movies I've been in—that's a little... I don't know. This is what I prefer.

**What's the knife?** That was given to me by Tommy Franks. General Tommy Franks.

**After a knife fight?** No, after a USO visit.

**And the ax?** That was given to me [goes up and looks at inscription], oh, by some friends.

**People seem to want to give you weapons.** No, no they don't.

**Come on, I see two!** That's a fireman's ax. It's for getting through the hard days.

**How many times a week does someone ask you, "You talkin' to me?"** Time to time. I get a kick out of it if it's kids. ■

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John Ridley

# Why I'm Good with the "N" Word

It does the job of marking the ascendancy of black Americans

Nigger.

Take a real good gander at it. Two syllables. Six letters. And give it a goodbye. 'Cause right now *nigger*'s on a linguistic hit list. If the verbal totalitarians have their way, they will take a blowtorch to the word, light it up and not stop burning until even the embers and ash aren't fit to be returned to the earth.

But what would we really be destroying? There is no other word in our culture that incites, infuriates, confounds and informs as does the word nigger. Who uses it, how it's used, which washed-up actor turned comic (think Michael Richards) shoulda stayed the hell clear of the word—they all help mark the ascension of black America through the cultural landscape. In art and letters and theater and comedy, this one word, this mangle of Latin and French and Spanish, has been description and slur and salutation, and in each incarnation a curio of our society.

No matter the classic book *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* is set in an antebellum age; the plight of runaway slave Nigger Jim is given equal consideration as that of his young white friend. Through Nigger Jim, the concept of racial parity, the examination of the system of slavery were forced upon Southern segregationists.

Should we also toss on the fire Dick Gregory's autobiography, written for cross-consumption as a harsh accounting of the racial indignities heaped upon a young black as he travels from boy to man? The book's ultimate satirical trick was to flip the slur into a sales tool. Its title: *Nigger!* "Whenever you hear the word 'nigger,'" Gregory wrote in the introduction, "you'll know they're advertising my book." Call a man a nigger, earn a brother a dollar.

Jump to Hollywood's blaxploitation era in the 1960s, when blacks suddenly were allowed to make movies told from our point of view. Melvin Van Peebles' 1971 *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song*—an ode to a wronged black man on the run from the cops—introduced the lead character as a "baadasssss nigger coming back to collect some dues!" And that "nigger" in the film, as Van Peebles tells it, snapped the streak of "liberal, sort of nice movies where we always ended up dead at the end."

In 1984's *A Soldier's Story*, a black military officer is investigating the murder of an unpopular black soldier near an Army base in Louisiana. Sergeant Waters, the victim, brutally com-

pels a young black private to give up his country ways and "quit thinking like a nigger." It was a rarely seen public representation of our private interactions: the impatience some blacks have with a victim mentality. Shocking. Powerful. A message to a white populace that we are not lemmings. And that even among ourselves, we're not a single tribe.

Richard Pryor and Eddie Murphy and Chris Rock have all traded on demystifying *nigger*. And in doing so, they have advanced the racial debate further than a thousand roundtable discussions populated with the best Ivy League minds. Pryor and Chevy Chase's *Saturday Night Live* "word association" sketch was a prime example of comedy's power to explore racial inter-

play in the workplace, the constant questioning of blacks as to when a comment is harmless and when is it racist. Chase is the white human-resources executive. Pryor, the black job applicant. What begins with Chase: "White," Pryor: "Black," devolves through Chase: "Negro," Pryor: "Whitey," Chase: "Colored," Pryor: "Redneck," Chase: "Jungle bunny," Pryor: "Honky!" Chase: "Nigger," Pryor: "Dead honky!"

1976. *Silver Streak*, Pryor and Gene Wilder's comedic take on *The Defiant Ones*. In the penultimate moment, Pryor's character, camouflaged as a lowly train porter, flips a gat on the uppity white villain, demanding to know, in a brilliant combination of

anger and comic timing, "Who you callin' nigger?" Yeah. That was all of us. That was all of black America wanting to know from any race baiter as we moved through the Establishment: Excuse me, who exactly are you calling nigger?

And a couple of mollycoddles out there want to put the kibosh on that? Line 'em up, man. Line up pop culture from *The Nigger of the Narcissus* to *The Birth of a Nation* to *To Kill a Mockingbird*, right on through N.W.A. and "Niggas vs. Black People," and on to comedian Dave Chappelle playing a blind Ku Klux Klan member who ends up yelling "nigger" at himself.

In an era of enlightenment and free communication, do we really want to wipe out the work of the satirists who shove and cajole, who take language and thought by the throat and force us to confront with wit and guile what most refuse to face? We need this word. Relax. Take a deep breath. It's gonna be cool. Two syllables. Six letters. It's not the word, only the fear that needs to be put aside.



John Ridley is a commentator and author of *The American Way*, a graphic-novel series to be published in February

James Poniewozik

# The Civil War Behind "Civil War"

How two words illuminate the shift of power from the media to the people

**W**HEN KATIE COURIC TOOK OVER THE CBS *EVENING News*, some viewers wondered whether a *Today* show anchor could claim Walter Cronkite's mantle. Turns out we were wondering about the wrong *Today* anchor. When Matt Lauer announced that NBC would start referring to the conflict in Iraq as a "civil war," media observers hailed it as a "Cronkite moment," referring to the CBS anchor's 1968 declaration that the Vietnam War was unwinnable, upon which L.B.J. realized he had lost Middle America.

The backlash to Lauer's Cronkitization was quick, for several reasons. First: dude, we're talking *Matt Lauer* here. Second: Cronkite's language—"We are mired in stalemate"—was far stronger. Third: some newspapers, including the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Christian Science Monitor*, quietly started using "civil war" earlier (as did *TIME*). Last: polls and common sense indicated that most Americans already believed Iraq's sectarian fighting was a civil war.

So, O.K., NBC's declaration may have no effect on the war in Iraq. But it was a signal moment in the war between the Bush White House and the media. If the issue seems like pointless semantics, it is hardly so to the Administration, which has been fixated on framing issues and politicizing language. It (and Fox News) renamed suicide bombers "homicide bombers." It cast the fight against al-Qaeda as a "war on terror," even though the struggle was unlike old-fashioned wars between armies. Now it wants Iraq not to be a "civil war"—ironically, on the ground that it is unlike old-fashioned civil wars between armies—and has suggested that anyone who calls it one is taking political sides.

The White House got its way for a long time, and that's not surprising. The period from 9/11 through much of the Iraq war was often shameful for the media, especially TV news. There was plenty of excellent, tough, heroic reporting. But from the production offices, where the tone and packaging of the news are set, came hints that, in wartime, the Fourth Estate was on the side of the good guys. Newscasts were adorned with American flags, and press outlets (including, initially, *TIME*) prematurely made a John Wayne figure of Private First Class Jessica Lynch.

This was not because the media were jingoistic but because the media business was, and is, existentially scared. TV audiences and print readerships are shrinking, along with media payrolls; nightly newscasts and newspapers wonder how much longer they will exist, much less thrive. The Administration has played on that fear of irrelevance, freezing out big institutions in favor of friendly local outlets and allies. A Bush aide told reporter Ron Suskind that journalists were an ineffectual "reality-

based community." Were the mainstream media dying? The ebullient Bushies seemed to answer, They're already dead!

Layered on this was the sense of a conservative swarm sweeping the country. War supporters and "values voters" were coming out of the woodwork in elections, lining up for *The Passion of the Christ* and making Fox the sole TV-news success story of the era. They were collecting scalps—Bill Maher, Peter Arnett, Dan Rather—and taking names. They had blogs and remotes and money, and they hated the press. Journalists might not slant stories to show their loyalty, but what was the harm in hanging a little bunting on the screen?

The ideology of scared media is me-too-ism: straining to show the audience you like what it likes, be it Harry Potter or Donald Rumsfeld. (He's tough! He's funny! He's a sex symbol! The Philadelphia *Inquirer* dubbed him a "stud muffin.") With the worsening of Iraq, however, coverage be-

came more assertive, and after Hurricane Katrina, reporters found they could question the Administration without being struck dead. With the "civil war" fight—as with erstwhile stud muffin Rumsfeld—the momentum has reversed. It's less important what the press is calling the war than that the White House is no longer calling the terms.

Of course, all this proves is that me-too-ism knows no party. NBC took its public step only after Bush's midterm thumpin'. Middle America may have been led by Cronkite, but now the reins are firmly in the other hand. In a perfect world, the media would be led by the facts, and the audience by its own mind. But if the public is giving the news permission to be more, well, reality-based, then lead on, folks, lead on. ■







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PLAY IT AGAIN, GEORGE:  
The film is rich in  
references to old classics



## In the Heat of the Noir

*The Good German* is long on style, short on thought

**F**OR DIRECTOR STEVEN SODERBERGH, *THE Good German* is an exercise in style—retro style. Although his film is set in postwar Berlin, he made it, as the studios once did, on back lots and locations around Los Angeles. He used old-fashioned process photography instead of CGI for his special effects, and though he shot in color, he printed the movie on high-contrast black-and-white stock. He even dug up antique lenses, of the kind directors were obliged to use a half-century ago. By golly, if he shoots into the sun, he gets lens flare. He induced Thomas Newman to write a lush symphonic score in something like the Max Steiner mode and encouraged his actors to perform in the old presentational manner, as if they'd never heard of Stanislavsky, much less Dr. Freud.

Soderbergh doesn't miss a trick, and for a while it's fun for us to share in his fun. But there comes a moment when his Euro-noir film turns into another sort of exercise for the audience: an exercise in boredom. We begin to see that Soderbergh is counting on style to distract us from the familiarity, not to say banality, of the narrative that Paul Attanasio has winnowed out of novelist Joseph Kanon's rather good thriller. What we have here are two standard noir characters. There's the hard-shelled anthrope, Jake Geismer (George Clooney), returning to Berlin, where he was a foreign correspondent before the war. His ostensible business is to cover the Potsdam conference. His real interest is in seeing

whether the great love of his life, Lena Brandt (Cate Blanchett), has survived and might possibly still love him. It takes him about a nano-second to find her and about the same amount of time to discover that she has been ill used by fate. Soderbergh and Attanasio notice that there is a rough analogy between this pair and *Casablanca's* Rick and Ilsa—except (and it's a big exception) that Lena, unlike Ilsa, has become hard, manipulative and utterly selfish. Also, she doesn't just need ditsy letters of transit. She's involved in the more cosmic issue of the competition between the Russians and the Americans for the services of German rocket scientists who were complicit in the Holocaust.

It's never a good idea for MacGuffins to grow into huge moral issues, lending false (and queasy) importance to what is essentially an entertainment. Not that the movie doesn't have its great performances. This being Berlin in 1945, there's a whole lot of whoring and black-marketeering going on, at the center of which is Jake's driver, Corporal Tully, who is played, in a striking bit of off-casting, by Tobey Maguire as one of those utterly chilling rogues who think they're charming.

Watching *The Good German*, you feel the unease, the discontent, of its makers with their basic material. They pile up style points as they flirt with quite sober issues involving loyalty and guilt. The result is a movie that is never quite amusing but never quite mordantly thought provoking either. —By Richard Schickel

# Bring Back the T. Rex

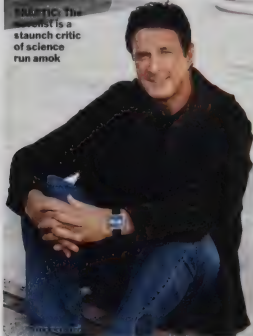
Crichton's latest scientific nightmare is full of out-of-control geneticists and their mutant creations. Yawn



**NEXT** (HARPERCOLLINS; 433 pages) is Michael Crichton's 15th novel, and I can't say for sure that it's his worst, but I can say for sure that it's the worst I've read, and I've read a bunch. And that includes his

last book, *State of Fear*, in which he attempted to frighten us with the idea that global warming is not actually happening but is instead a hoax staged by a shadowy network of overzealous environmentalists. Boo!

**SCIENTIFIC:** The novelist is a staunch critic of science run amok



Of course, Crichton's ambition is never merely to scare us. The Crichtonian view of humanity is that we're all a bunch of overeager meddlers, so high on greed and curiosity that we can't resist trifling with complex systems (you know—DNA, nanotechnology, alien spheres, Japan) in the name of progress, which then turn around and bite us, often literally. This view is not necessarily incorrect, and Crichton has expressed it in some first-rate, even prescient, works of genre fiction, notably *Congo* and *Jurassic Park* (Crichton is in real life famously tall—he's usually reported as 6 ft. 9 in.—and one wonders if that helps him see what's coming ahead of the rest of us.)

Next may or may not be prescient, but it's definitely bad. It's about—to pick a few ex-

amples from its ashtray of half-finished plots—a man who gets treated for cancer and survives, only to find that unscrupulous doctors have patented his family's cancer-resistant cell line and are trying to harvest it by force from his relatives. Also, a scientist who inadvertently crosses his genes with that of a chimp and creates a talking monkey. And some other scientist who comes up with a gene-therapy treatment that makes irresponsible people more mature. Had enough? No? There's a transgenic parrot that does math and quotes old movies. Boo!

These plots are acted out by a large and largely interchangeable cast of characters—*Next* feels less like a novel than some kind of interminable convention. You can recognize the good guys, who are sober and clear-eyed. You can recognize the bad guys, who are reckless and shortsighted, and if you still don't get it, they're mean to children. The villains here are all people, which is a problem, since Crichton's people are a lot less plausibly human than his dinosaurs, of which there are zero in *Next*. There's only one authentically chilling moment, when an orangutan peers out of the jungle in Sumatra and swears gutturally at some tourists in Dutch, but it leads nowhere. (And anyway, Crichton is just recycling—or is it cloning?—his own super-gorillas from *Congo*.)

The many plots in *Next* (and doesn't that title belong to Michael Lewis?) are linked together by a collection of coincidences so haphazard and unbelievable that it's almost shocking to read them under the byline of a novelist as seasoned as Crichton. It's possible he is trying something new here, that he deliberately opted out of his usual central driving plot to present us instead with a panoramic *Babel*-style view of a whole society gone genetically mad. I tell you, mad. If so, the experiment, like so many he describes, has gone disastrously wrong. This kind of messiness doesn't suit him at all. Crichton's narratives work because they're as gleaming and orderly as nature is frighteningly chaotic. Not that he's wrong: for all I know we may be heading for a transgenic apocalypse. It's just that in literature, unlike in science, being right isn't enough. —By Lev Grossman

b NOVEMBER 11, 2006

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# 7 BOOKS KIDS WILL LOVE

What's the secret of great stories for children? Making sure parents enjoy them too



**A DUCK  
& GOOSE**  
**TAD HILLS**  
WHEN DUCK  
AND GOOSE  
find a ball in  
the park,

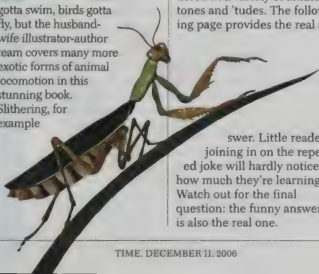
they know right away what it is: an egg, of course. In this psychologically acute tale, they squabble over it at first, then strike a truce, making plans for teaching its "fuzzy little occupant" to swim and fly. After learning the truth, they decide to make the best of it. After all, a bond has been formed—not only with the ball but also with each other.



**THE  
RUNAWAY  
DINNER**  
**ALLAN  
AHLBERG  
AND BRUCE INGMAN**  
USUALLY IT'S THE KIDS WHO jump up from the table before the meal is finished. Here the meal runs out the door before little Banjo can eat it, followed by the silverware, plate, table and chair, Banjo and others. As with all runaways, some of the foods in Ahlberg's zany narrative come to a bad end (i.e., get eaten); others take up new lives. Will everything turn out well as Banjo returns home and sits down to his plum-pie dessert—or is it footloose too?



**MOVE!**  
**STEVE  
JENKINS AND  
ROBIN PAGE**  
FISH  
gotta swim, birds gotta fly, but the husband-wife illustrator-author team covers many more exotic forms of animal locomotion in this stunning book. Slithering, for example



(a snake through rustling leaves). Or swinging (a gibbon through jungle trees). Each variation comes alive in Jenkins' vibrant paper-cut illustrations. For more on the animals, kids can leap, dance or slide to the book's back pages.



**SO SLEEPY  
STORY**  
**URI  
SHULEVITZ**  
IF HYPNOTIC  
repetition

can put a tot to sleep, then this is a surefire bedtime story. The word sleepy occurs 31 times in Shulevitz's lulling text, in which even the objects in a sleepy boy's room—bed, clock, dishes, pictures on the wall—are sleepy. In a dreamlike interlude, music and dancing awaken the room in the wee hours. But the music fades; silence falls again. And when every sleepy thing is so sleepy sleepy, the spell of sleepiness becomes irresistible.



**WHERE DOES  
PEPPER  
COME FROM?**  
**BRIGITTE  
RAAB AND  
MANUELA OLTEN**  
THE FIRST ANSWER TO EACH of this book's questions is facetious. Why do snails carry houses on their backs? Because they love to go camping. No! Explain Olten's gallery of youngsters, rendered in a variety of amusing tones and 'tudes. The following page provides the real an-

swer. Little readers joining in on the repeated joke will hardly notice how much they're learning. Watch out for the final question: The funny answer is also the real one.



**BUCKAMOO GIRLS**  
**ELLEN A. KELLEY AND  
TOM CURRY**

WHO KNEW THAT COWS HAD A fantasy life? These two, Joanna and Susanna, chewing their cud in a pasture, imagine a day spent as rambunctious cowgirls, roaming the range, roping steers, riding in a rodeo, dancing at a hoedown and singing by the campfire ("Oh, Buckamoo girls, won't you come out tonight, and dance by the light of the moooonooon?"). Kelley's lively rhymes and Curry's comically stylized paintings evoke the fun and flavor of daydreams. A flight of sublime silliness.



**FLOTSAM**  
**DAVID  
WIESNER**  
CAMERAS  
supposedly  
don't lie, yet

in this lovely, wordless story the photos from a camera found by a boy on a beach are hard to believe—fantastical creatures, underwater realms, seashell cities. What to do with such a magical device? One shot gives the clue: a self-portrait of a child holding a self-portrait of a child, and so on, back through the generations. The boy tosses the camera into the ocean, to become flotsam on the imagination of another youth on another shore. —By Christopher Porterfield. With reporting by Jennifer Tisa

I really want  
to quit smoking.

It's so bad for my health.

But every time I tried to quit,  
my willpower quit first.

Let's get real.

Smoking is more than a habit;  
it's a nicotine addiction.

That's why it's so hard for me to quit.

You can't seem to stop smoking. We understand.  
For most people, smoking is a nicotine addiction.  
But the good news is, medical advances have been  
made in understanding it. Find out how medicine  
and behavioral support both may help you quit  
smoking. Now may be your time to quit for good.

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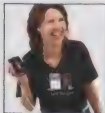
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Members of the Amalgamated Order of Real Bearded Santas jolly it up at their first national convention; buckle sale, below

# Meet the Real Santas

Real beards, real bellies. But what kind of guy wants to look like St. Nick?

By ANDREA COOPER

**KIDS IN THE TOWN OF PANGUITCH, UTAH** (pop. 1,600), have a name for Tom Hartsfield: Santa. Hartsfield encourages it, telling them he lives in Utah because it's too cold to stay at the North Pole year round. He'll even invite them to tug his beard if they seem doubtful. When they discover that the white whiskers are real, they tend to give him "sort of a shocked look," he says. "The real beard makes them believe more."



Hartsfield is founder of the Amalgamated Order of Real Bearded Santas, a national group based in Riverside, Calif. The group got its start in 1994 after a bunch of Kris Kringle look-alikes met while filming a commercial and then decided to keep on meeting. Today more than 1,000 men—most of them big, be-whiskered and jolly—are in the order's database.

It's easy to see why looking like Santa could be an asset this month, as they ho-ho-ho their way through private parties, malls, hospitals and day-care centers. But what kind of red-blooded American male wants to look like Santa all year round?



Scenes from a sartorially splendid Claus convention: Santa clings with candy-striped socks; the victorious team in a tug-of-war; Richard and Gayle Narden of Spanaway, Wash., as the North Pole pair



light while pursuing professions ranging from landscaper to doctor.

There's an ethnic and racial range as well. Torres, who is Hispanic, can chat with naughty or nice kids in both English and Spanish. And the order has a number of black members, including Dion Sinclair of Atlanta. When Sinclair was on duty at the mall, white parents sometimes requested "the other Santa," while other local families waited in line for him. Young children don't seem to care much about Santa's skin color, he says. "For kids, it's about the guy bringing me toys."

But being Santa isn't all fun and games. At this summer's convention, the men learned the hazards of overbleaching a beard—the whiskers can snap off. On a more sober note, they discussed what to do if a child's Christmas wish is for a parent to stop hitting him or her. "Santa can't just get up from his chair and go make a phone call to child services," Connaghan says. One strategy: Urge the child to confide in a teacher until the teacher believes it.

Looking like Santa demands a certain demeanor even when not handling kids on one's knee. "If someone cuts you off on the freeway, all you can do is smile and wave," says Connaghan, who has played Santa in the Hollywood Christmas Parade.

And then there's the challenge of managing the expectations of Mrs. Santa. Most members of the order are married—and for an impressive average of 24 years, according to the poll. But not all the wives were enamored when their men opted for the St. Nick look. "At first she thought it was nuts," says Tom Kliner of Kelowna, B.C. "Then I got her to play Mrs. Claus. She fell in love with it too."

Timothy Connaghan does, and he knows a sleighful of others like him. He also knows why. As executive director of the order, he surveyed more than 300 members in conjunction with their first national convention, held in Branson, Mo., in July. Among the questions he posed to his fellow Santas: How many years have you been wearing the red suit? (Answer: 12, on average.) How many children do you greet during a typical holiday season? (An average of 5,318.) What does Santa drive? (Pickups are the top ride; 14% also have a motorcycle.)

Most of the men decided to become Santa just because they liked the idea; about 40% got hooked when relatives or co-workers asked them to do the honors at a party or event. One reason they stayed with it is the excited reaction from kids, even when off duty or off season.

When children see Robert Torres at restaurants, "I'll make eye

contact and wave," says the Santa from Lake Forest, Calif. "They'll hide behind the booth, and it becomes a game." Torres was spotted by kids when visiting a small village in Mexico with no electricity. The kids, Huichol Indians, yelled "Santa!" then followed him, giggling, as if he had been the Pied Piper.

And it's not only kids who get excited. Tim Mack of Belt, Mont., was on his way to the convention this year when he took a break at a truck stop. After the usual eager kids, two women approached, and Mack told them a funny story. Charmed, they asked whether Santa always went around trying to pick up women. Mack's wife Dana, nearby, had a ready reply. "Santa," she confirmed, "is just a chick magnet."

Some of the Santas are retirees who play the role for joy and extra income (\$8,000 to \$12,000 on average for roughly 30 to 40 days of work.) Others moon-

## Santa Stats

Want to know more about the guys in the red suits? Here are results from the first-ever poll of 325 members of the Amalgamated Order of Real Bearded Santas.

- Average age: 59
- Average height: 5 ft., 10 in.
- Average weight: 257 lbs.
- Education: 68% college (7 Ph.D.s; 1 M.D.)
- Military service: 56%
- Average years as Santa: 12
- Top wheels: pickup truck (28%)
- Also ride a motorcycle: 14%
- Fave film: *Miracle on 34th Street*

SOURCE: SURVEY COMPILED BY TIMOTHY CONNAGHAN, EXEC. DIR. AORBS



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# A Better House Blend

When the kids are yours, mine and ours, it takes wisdom and work to treat everyone fairly

By **FRANCINE RUSSO**

**HOLIDAYS CAN BE COMPLICATED FOR ANY FAMILY, BUT WHEN CHILDREN, stepchildren and new spouses are involved, things can get really crazy. Consider the dilemma facing Merritt Patterson when her daughter Emmajane, then 7, requested a Barbie Jeep for Christmas two years ago. How could she possibly buy such a lavish gift for**

Emmajane and not get a similarly high-impact present for her stepson Michael Jr.?

And if those two got a fancy set of wheels, how could she leave her younger daughter Addie out of the equation? The high-priced solution she and her husband devised: three kiddie Jeeps. "We laugh at

ourselves now," says Patterson. "That was \$900 driving around in the backyard. If we were not a blended family, there's no way we would have done this. We go overboard to be fair."

Ah, but what is fair? Parents in blended families struggle every day, in mat-

**Grafts on the family tree: the Pattersons gather in their Dallas yard. Clockwise from top left, Michael, William, Addie, Michael Jr., Merritt, Emmajane**

ters large and small, to make decisions that do justice to all their children—his, hers and theirs. Fifteen percent of American children live in a blended family, reported the U.S. Census Bureau in 2001. Unfortunately, studies repeatedly show that kids in blended families fare no better than those in single-parent households. While many factors, especially how well the exes get along, contribute to making such families work, the kids' perception that they are treated fairly is a key ingredient of success.

Many divorced parents struggle with guilt, feeling they've caused their children a loss or that they don't spend enough time with them or have hurt them in other ways. Special occasions like holidays and birthdays and even back-to-school shopping tend to bring out those feelings of guilt. Children

sometimes see money spent on them and their siblings as a scorecard showing who is more loved. Yet in most families, total equality is impossible to achieve. What to do? Be realistic, experts say, and accept that the playing field may not be level. The message, says Jennifer Coleman, a life-transition counselor at Rosen Law Firm in Raleigh, N.C., should be that no matter who spends what on whom, all the children are valued equally.

It took Susan and David Emerling a few years to figure out how to bring that message to their blended family. Susan, a dental hygienist and artist, receives child

support from her ex-husband and uses it to buy necessities for her two teenagers. David, an engineer, pays for his two. "I take care of Mariel's and Jillian's needs," she says, "and he takes care of Rachelle's and Ben's." To avoid hurt feelings over clothes shopping, they decided to give each child cash or a gift card in the same amount every fall and spring. It worked like a charm. "Before we did that," says Susan, "the kids would say, 'Why does she have that and I don't?'"

What parents in blended families can't even out are the things their exes buy for their kids. When Rachelle got a new car for her 16th birthday, for example, Mariel and Jillian, who drive the family car, were upset. Ultimately, says their mother, they made their peace with it: "The kids realize they have separate households. It's part of the reality of their lives."

When such inequities crop up, parents need to be on guard not to be angry with the child who got the goodies and not to badmouth the relative who paid for the expensive gift, says psychologist Jonathan Pochyly of Children's Memorial Hospital in Chicago. Like all attacks on an ex or a new stepparent, negative remarks are deeply destructive to the new, blended family.

Discipline is another minefield where fairness issues regularly explode. The children often encounter three or four different sets of rules: those of their biological parent and their stepparent in each household. Experts advise that, with rare exceptions, biological parents should discipline their children, even if there are different rules within the same household. Explaining these differences to the child is key, says Linda Gordon, a Chevy Chase, Md., family therapist specializing in children of divorce. When husband and wife discipline their children differently, she suggests that a parent explain, "Stepdad and I have different values, but I still

think my values are good." Over time, though, couples in blended families should try to narrow the gap between their rules.

But what if the conflict is between your biological child and your stepchild? Balancing the scales of justice between them can test parents sorely. Susan Wallis, a kindergarten teacher in Ellicott City, Md., initially tried to defend her son Sam, now 10, when his three older stepsiblings teased him. "I'd react, 'My poor baby!'"

girls had lots of friends over and complained that her stepsister kept horning in. The other said it wasn't fair to leave her out. The counselor suggested that they make a rule: Whoever had friends over had a right to privacy with them in her bedroom, but if they played in a common area, her stepsister had the right to join in. "This did fix it," Emerling relates. After the child who needed privacy got it, she was more willing to include her stepsister.

All these issues lose their sharp edges when a family be-

## Research shows it takes four to seven years for a blended family to knit together

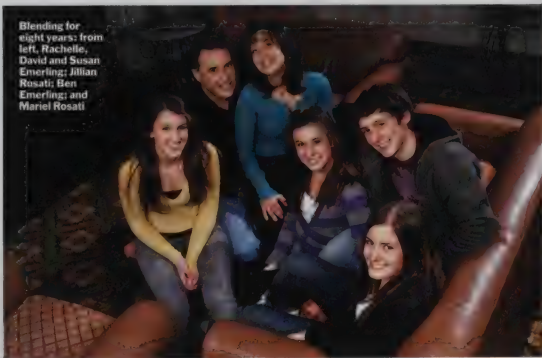
she admits. Her husband Kent Davis suggested that when the kids fought, the disputants should bring their issue before both parents. Each child, without interruption and using "I" statements, would explain what happened and how it made him feel. The tactic has helped the kids recognize when they are being unfair and learn to resolve their differences, although, says Wallis, it can be hard to listen without taking sides. Says she: "I had to teach myself not to add comments."

Sometimes families need a little help from an expert who can stand back from everybody's feelings. One counseling session was enough to help Susan Emerling and her husband resolve an ongoing argument between his daughter and hers soon after the couple married. One of the

comes truly blended, but that can take anywhere from four to seven years, research shows. Children under age 8 blend the fastest, and those between 9 and 11 the slowest, says Sandra Macias, a professor at the Pacific Graduate School of Psychology in Palo Alto, Calif. Experts warn newcomers to blended families to be realistic about what they can expect when.

When the Emerlings married eight years ago, Rachelle and Jillian often argued. One might scream at the other, "That's my shirt!" Now, at 17, they share clothes. It's not perfect, and it has taken work, says Emerling, "but we really are a family. I always wished our family would be seamless, not 'his' or 'mine.' But now I know that a blended family doesn't have to be seamless to be full of love." ■

Blending for eight years: from left, Rachelle, David and Susan Emerling; Jillian Rosati; Ben Emerling; and Mariel Rosati



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## Q&amp;A

## Ms. Manners

There's nothing funny about rude behavior, says comedian Whoopi Goldberg in a new kids' book



**WHOOPI GOLDBERG IS A WOMAN FOR ALL MEDIA.**

In her long career she has managed to win an Oscar, an Emmy, a Grammy and a Tony. As of July, she has had a radio show on Clear Channel (no awards yet). And, oh, yes, Goldberg, 51, writes children's books in her spare time. Her latest, *Whoopi's Big Book of Manners* (Hyperion),

takes on a particular pet peeve of hers: rude kids. Not her grandkids, of course. *TIME*'s Andrea Sachs spoke with the comedian.

**Why a children's book?**

I've done one before [Alice, in 1992]. Whenever you want to give information to parents, the best way to do it is through a kids' book.

**And why a book about manners?**

Because it's the most glaring thing I see. I figure that if we go back to the basics of *please* and *thank you* and remind people that it's not O.K. to leave your telephone on in the theater, certain aspects of our life might actually be a little bit saner.

**Are there particular things that annoy you about children's behavior?**

I can't really hold kids responsible because people my age are really kind of responsible for a lot of it. If you grew up during the '60s, everything was about not being who your parents were. So we raised our children to do all of the things we thought we should be able to do—call our parents by their first names, talk back. Now those kids have had kids who don't know that they're supposed to say please or thank you.

**It's sort of ironic, don't you think, that you're doing a manners book since you've got into trouble for things you've said?**

Not for bad manners! I'm a comic, and my job is to be funny. I'm political—I am that. I made a misstep once about Bob Dole and then wrote him a letter and apologized.

**Were you political this season?**

No, no one asked for my help. I'm sure everybody is afraid to have me as part of their cheerleading crew. They still believe that something untoward went on at that Kerry event. [Goldberg got into hot water for her risqué jokes at a 2004 John Kerry fund raiser.]

**Would you have listened to your book's advice when you were a kid?**

I did listen to this advice when I was a kid. We were clear in my house about how it was

supposed to be. When the mommy says no, that's what she means. And you don't answer back like she's a peer. But I taught my daughter that we were equals. Fortunately, she ignored me and ended up being the kind of kid that my mom would have raised in terms of manners.

**Did your grandkids advise you on the book?**

No, because oddly enough, my grandkids [ages 17, 10 and 8] are very well-mannered. They know not to bring a cell phone into a theater. If they see an adult screaming at a coach, they know it's not the way it's supposed to be.

**What kind of grandmother are you?**

Weird. I have very strange ideas about things. They've seen me have to figure out the best way to be part of their lives without trying to take over. Because it's just instinctual. You figure, Oh, here are the grandkids—I'll do better with them [than I did with their parents]. No, actually, you won't. [Laughs.]

**What's it like to wake up in the do a 5:00 a.m. radio show?**

I'm usually up, because I'm a bit of an insomniac. So it's perfect. They're paying me well. They're treating me well. It's a good gig for me. I'm trying to do as much as I can to make life as comfortable as I can, because I have the luckiest life ever. I am doing what I want to do, the way I want to do it. I'm healthy, my kids are healthy, my grandkids are healthy. And I'm an American. What's better than that?



# A NEW BREAST CANCER TEST



PAGING  
DR. GUPTA

ONE OF THE TOUGHEST THINGS I DO AS a physician is deal with uncertainty. Doctors are often only as good as their diagnostic tests, and those tests aren't perfect. Too often we are forced to say, "You might have cancer"—which leads to lots of fear, anxiety and lost sleep.

It is also often the beginning of an arduous process of more tests and in

some cases surgical procedures. The only way to be absolutely sure about cancer is to examine some of the suspicious cells under a microscope. That means a biopsy. And in the U.S. we perform more than a million breast biopsies a year. The results come back normal 8 times out of 10.

That may be good news for a lot of women, but it may also mean we are performing too many biopsies. For years, doctors have been looking for ways to cut that number down. That is why I was so encouraged by reports of a new technology unveiled last week at a meeting of the Radiological Society of North America.

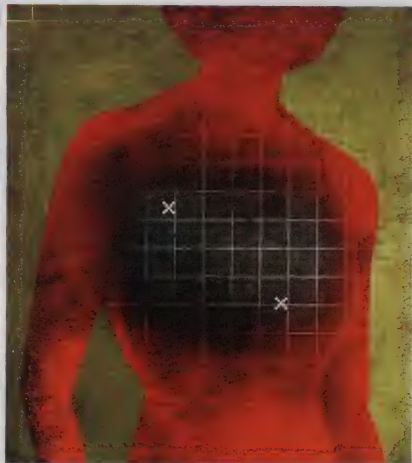
It is called elasticity imaging and, unlike a biopsy, involves no needles or scalpels. Yet it appears—on the basis of an initial study—to be remarkably good at distinguishing benign lumps from cancerous growths.

For the patient, the test will feel and look no different from a standard ultrasound, in which a probe is used to peer deep into breast tissue and create an image using high-frequency sound waves.

## How to tell a benign lump from cancer without a biopsy

It takes two minutes longer to do a second scan and analyze the results with special software. The initial ultrasound finds the lump, according to Dr. Richard Barr, author of the study. The second scan probes the lump's characteristics, including how much it moves or stretches—which is where the technology gets its name.

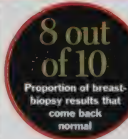
For reasons that aren't yet clear to Barr or anyone else, when the elasticity software is applied, the image of a suspicious lump becomes larger if the lump is cancerous. Conversely, a noncancerous lesion appears smaller in an enhanced image. Additionally, cancerous



lesions have a characteristic pattern—a sort of stringy network—whereas benign cysts look like a well-defined bull's-eye.

It all sounds a little vague and subjective, but in Barr's hands, it seems to work. In a study of 80 women with 123 suspicious lumps in their breasts, elasticity imaging scored remarkably well. Subsequent biopsies showed that it correctly identified 17 out of 17 cancerous lesions and 105 out of 106 benign lesions.

(There was one false positive.) Barr is understandably excited about the results. He envisions



a day when this kind of technology might be able to eliminate biopsies altogether.

We are not there yet. One thing to consider is that ultrasound tests, unlike CT and MRI scans, are extremely operator dependent; the results could vary widely from facility to facility. Also, your doctor, like most

other physicians, would probably want to see more studies of the new test before being comfortable with calling off a biopsy. Barr already has that in the works. He is preparing a multicenter international trial with 2,000 patients that will start in January and take about a year. In the interim, women should not forget a yearly mammogram starting at age 40. For now, it remains the gold standard of breast-cancer screening. ■

Sanjay Gupta is a neurosurgeon. Check out his podcast at [cnn.com/health](http://cnn.com/health)



## WHAT'S WRONG WITH THIS CLUB?

By DANIEL KADLEC



DESTINATION CLUBS, IN WHICH YOU plunk down a sizable deposit and pay an annual fee for access to luxury resort homes around the world, aren't the bargains they once were. Many are raising fees and dues, and some are shedding properties and initiating stricter reservation systems. And in the wake of a July bankruptcy filing by Tanner & Haley, the industry pioneer, the possibility of losing your privileges and your entire deposit has come front and center.

There are some 20 destination clubs, with a total of 4,000 members—a number that is expected to grow tenfold in the next few years. Membership fees commonly run \$150,000 to \$500,000, with annual dues of \$10,000 to \$30,000 for 30 to 40 nights per year. Those are big numbers. But the clubs may still make sense for affluent empty nesters with the time and means to get

away, especially as an alternative to buying a second home. Even with today's stiffer fees and dues, the cost of a club runs about \$60,000 less than the cost of owning a comparable second home over 10 years, estimates *Helium Report*, an online newsletter.

Still, a lot has changed since the first clubs opened their doors in 1998 promising virtually unlimited access

to multimillion-dollar homes from Telluride to Tokyo. The "anywhere, anytime" promise has morphed into "most places most of the time," says Ben Addoms, a founder of Quintess, Catch the Dream, which has 38 properties in 24 locations.

Exclusive Resorts, by far the biggest club with 300 homes in 35 destinations, raised prices 10% this summer. A mid-level membership is now \$325,000, with annual dues of \$19,500. Ultimate Resort and Quintess have also hiked prices. Crescendo is not only raising prices but also cutting the number of nights you may stay at its properties.

Meanwhile, the industry is consolidating at a furious pace. Ultimately, there will be just one or two clubs in each of three or four price points, says Addoms. A couple of clubs are vying for Tanner & Haley's assets. A few weeks ago, high-

end clubs Solstice and Parallel agreed to merge. Just about everything from growth plans to fee structures is in flux, and the industry remains lightly regulated.

Tanner & Haley was the industry's first meltdown. Its 874 members, who had paid from



\$85,000 (in the early days) to \$1.3 million (in more recent years) to join, could lose most of their deposit. The firm owned only 67 of the 200 properties it managed (the rest were leased) and did not have sufficient assets to cover the expense of refunding membership fees.

"We've been calling for regulation for three years," says Howard

**PARADISE LOST** This vacation home in Mexico is now on the block

Nussbaum, president of the American Resort Development Association, a trade group. He believes basic consumer protections that would have prevented the kind of losses experienced by Tanner & Haley members will be in place in some states by spring. But even then, prospective members will need to ask tough questions.

Your top concern is the safety of your membership fee. Most clubs agree to refund 80% when you quit. So insist on proof that the club has enough assets to fully refund all members. Ask how long it takes to get a refund. Most clubs won't pay until they get two or three new members—a problem if growth stalls.

Ask about owned vs. leased properties. A good ratio is 4 to 1. Anything less and the club may be on shaky financial footing. Ask about occupancy rates.

A good ratio is 70% or less, meaning that at any given time you'll have options for last-minute travel. And ask about holiday booking. Most clubs have a lottery or rotation system. Make sure new members are treated equitably and that hot properties have not been booked for years to come. A few questions now may spare you a lot of pain later.

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said@somalinet.so      Please send rain, crops need rain, goats need rain

zeus@olympus.org      Lunch next week?

OBL@alqaeda.org      LET THE UNBELIEVERS PERISH

sean233@eircom.ie      Sweet Jesus would you let me win the bleedin lotto just th...

jc@kingdom.net      Hey Dad would you please stop forwarding lotto requests

benny16@vatican.va      Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam promotionem nostram

mel@oldtimereligion.org      Do I have to apologize to all of them, or just the Hollywoo...

bigdudley@freeserve.uk      URGENT: WHAT I WANT FOR MY BIRTHDAY (Excel doc, 90MB)

mary@virgin-mediterran...      Re: re: re: re: DNA test (Joseph's idea)

tony@thefamily.com      How about I wake up tomorrow and I'm an accountant or s...

ceo@engulfanddevour.co...      Not an audit, please God, anything but an audit

rafael\_nunez@us.army.mil      Just get me through this hitch (26 MORE DAYS)

topgun@whitehouse.gov      So, who do I liberate next?

pat@christiancoalition.org      LET THE UNBELIEVERS PERISH

rabbilevinger@hebronet.il      LET THE UNBELIEVERS PERISH

sktbrdr7@earthlink.net      If I pass trig I promise I'll never you-know-what again

rdawkins@oxford.edu      You don't exist. I have ironclad, copper-bottomed, irrefu...

sktbrdr7@earthlink.net      Well maybe once a week

kaitlin98@verizon.net      Now I lay me down to sleep, I pray the Lord my soul to keep

buddha@dharma.net      Re: re: wrath management

cust.svc@amazon.com      Your Amazon order LIFE BEGINS AT 15 BILLION has shipp...

The Almighty

Earth

Other Planets

Other Galaxies

Pluto

lightning.jpg

best of george burnswmv

'05 election results

Earth-Plan 8.doc

Jesus baby pics

You're the Top! Ethel Merman  
Elapsed Time: 0:54

Google Earth

e.g., San Francisco  
YIM

## 2006 SCHEDULE

## PRESEASON

DATE	at Tennessee	10:10-10
DATE	at Dallas	1:10-10
DATE	at Jacksonville	1:10-10
DATE	at Kansas City	1:10-10

## REGULAR SEASON

DATE	at Cleveland	10:10-10
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**INFORMATION FOR PATIENTS**  
**Ambien CR™ @**  
**(zolpidem tartrate extended-release) tablets**



**INFORMATION FOR PATIENTS TAKING AMBIEN CR**

Your doctor has prescribed Ambien CR to help you sleep. The following information is intended to guide you in the safe use of this medicine. It is not meant to take the place of your doctor's instructions. If you have any questions about Ambien CR tablets be sure to ask your doctor or pharmacist.

Ambien CR is used to treat different types of sleep problems, such as:

- trouble falling asleep
- waking up often during the night

Some people may have more than one of these problems.

Ambien CR belongs to a group of medicines known as the "sedative/hypnotics," or simply, sleep medicines. There are many different sleep medicines available to help people sleep better. Sleep problems are usually temporary, requiring treatment for only a short time, usually 1 or 2 days up to 1 or 2 weeks. Some people have chronic sleep problems that may require more prolonged use of sleep medicine. However, you should not use these medicines for long periods without talking with your doctor about the risks and benefits of prolonged use.

**SIDE EFFECTS**

**Most common side effects:**

- headache
- somnolence (sleepiness)
- dizziness

You may find that these medicines make you sleepy during the day. How drowsy you feel depends upon how your body reacts to the medicine, which sleep medicine you are taking, and how large a dose your doctor has prescribed. Daytime drowsiness is best avoided by taking the lowest dose possible that will still help you sleep at night. Your doctor will work with you to find the dose of Ambien CR that is best for you.

To manage these side effects while you are taking this medicine:

- When you first start taking Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine until you know whether the medicine will still have some carryover effect in you the next day, use extreme care while doing anything that requires complete alertness, such as driving a car, operating machinery, or piloting an aircraft.
- NEVER drink alcohol while you are being treated with Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine. Alcohol can increase the side effects of Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine.
- Do not take any other medicines without asking your doctor first. This includes medicines you can buy without a prescription. Some medicines can cause drowsiness and are best avoided while taking Ambien CR.
- Always take the exact dose of Ambien CR prescribed by your doctor. Never change your dose without talking to your doctor first.

**SPECIAL CONCERNS**

There are some special problems that may occur while taking sleep medicines.

**Memory problems:** Sleep medicines may cause a special type of memory loss or "amnesia." When this occurs, a person may not remember what has happened for several hours after taking the medicine. This is usually not a problem since most people fall asleep after taking the medicine.

Memory loss can be a problem, however, when sleep medicines are taken while traveling, such as during an airplane flight and the person wakes up before the effect of the medicine is gone. This has been called "traveler's amnesia."

Be sure to talk to your doctor if you think you are having memory problems. Although memory problems are not very common while taking Ambien CR, in most instances, they can be avoided if you take Ambien CR only when you are able to get a full night's sleep (7 to 8 hours) before you need to be active again.

**Tolerance:** When sleep medicines are used every night for more than a few weeks, they may lose their effectiveness to help you sleep. This is known as "tolerance." Sleep medicines should, in most cases, be used only for short periods of time, such as 1 or 2 days and generally no longer than 1 or 2 weeks. If your sleep problems continue, consult your doctor, who will determine whether other measures are needed to overcome your sleep problems.

**Dependence:** Sleep medicines can cause dependence, especially when these medicines are used regularly for longer than a few weeks or at high doses. Some people develop a need to continue taking their medicines. This is known as dependence or "addiction."

When people develop dependence, they may have difficulty stopping the sleep medicine. If the medicine is suddenly stopped, the body is not able to function normally and unpleasant symptoms may occur (see **Withdrawal**). They may find that they have to keep taking the medicines either at the prescribed dose or at increasing doses just to avoid withdrawal symptoms.

All people taking sleep medicines have some risk of becoming dependent on the medicine. However, people who have been dependent on alcohol or other drugs in the past may have a higher chance of becoming addicted to sleep medicines. This possibility must be considered before using these medicines for more than a few weeks.

If you have been addicted to alcohol or drugs in the past, it is important to tell your doctor before starting Ambien CR or any sleep medicine.

**Withdrawal:** Withdrawal symptoms may occur when sleep medicines are stopped suddenly after being used daily for a long time. In some cases, these symptoms can occur even if the medicine has been used for only a week or two.

In mild cases, withdrawal symptoms may include unpleasant feelings. In more severe cases, abdominal and muscle cramps, vomiting, sweating, shakiness, and rarely, seizures may occur. These more severe withdrawal symptoms are very uncommon.

Another problem that may occur when sleep medicines are stopped is known as "rebound insomnia." This means that a person may have more trouble sleeping the first few nights after the medicine is stopped than before starting the medicine. If you should experience rebound insomnia, do not get discouraged. This problem usually goes away on its own after 1 or 2 nights.

If you have been taking Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine for more than 1 or 2 weeks, do not stop taking it on your own. Always follow your doctor's directions.

**Changes in behavior and thinking:** Some people using sleep medicines have experienced unusual changes in their thinking and/or behavior. These effects are not common. However, they have included:

- more outgoing or aggressive behavior than normal
- confusion
- strange behavior
- agitation
- hallucinations
- worsening of depression
- suicidal thoughts

How often these effects occur depends on several factors, such as a person's general health, the use of other medicines, and which sleep medicine is being used.

It is also important to realize that it is rarely clear whether these behavior changes are caused by the medicine, an illness, or occur on their own. In fact, sleep problems that do not improve may be due to illnesses that were present before the medicine was used. If you or your family notice any changes in your behavior, or if you have any unusual or disturbing thoughts, call your doctor immediately.

**Pregnancy:** Sleep medicines may cause sedation of the unborn baby when used during the last weeks of pregnancy.

Be sure to tell your doctor if you are pregnant, if you are planning to become pregnant, or if you become pregnant while taking Ambien CR.

**SAFE USE OF SLEEPING MEDICINES**

To ensure the safe and effective use of Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine, you should observe the following cautions:

1. Ambien CR is a prescription medicine and should be used ONLY as directed by your doctor. Follow your doctor's instructions about how to take, when to take, and how long to take Ambien CR. Ambien CR tablets should not be divided, crushed, or chewed, and must be swallowed whole.
2. Never use Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine for longer than directed by your doctor.
3. If you notice any unusual and/or disturbing thoughts or behavior during treatment with Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine, contact your doctor.
4. Tell your doctor about any medicines you may be taking, including medicines you may buy without a prescription. You should also tell your doctor if you drink alcohol. Do NOT use alcohol while taking Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine.
5. Do not take Ambien CR unless you are able to get a full night's sleep before you must be active again. For example, Ambien CR should not be taken on an overnight airplane flight of less than 7 to 8 hours since "traveler's amnesia" may occur.
6. Do not increase the prescribed dose of Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine unless instructed by your doctor.
7. When you first start taking Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine, until you know whether the medicine will still have some carryover effect in you the next day, use extreme care while doing anything that requires complete alertness, such as driving a car, operating machinery, or piloting an aircraft.
8. Be aware that you may have more sleeping problems the first night after stopping Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine.
9. Be sure to tell your doctor if you are pregnant, if you are planning to become pregnant, or if you become pregnant while taking Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine.
10. As with all prescription medicines, never share Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine with anyone else. Always store Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine in the original container that you received it in and store it out of reach of children.
11. Ambien CR works very quickly. You should only take Ambien CR right before going to bed and are ready to go to sleep.

sanofi-aventis U.S. LLC  
Bridgewater, NJ 08807  
Country of Origin: France



**AMBIEN (ZOLPIDEM TARTRATE)®  
HAS 1 LAYER TO HELP  
YOU FALL ASLEEP**

**AMBIEN CR  
HAS 2 LAYERS TO  
HELP YOU FALL ASLEEP  
AND STAY ASLEEP\***

**Ambien CR is the only 2-layer sleep aid with a controlled-release formula:**



The first layer dissolves quickly to help you get to sleep fast.  
The second layer dissolves slowly to help you stay asleep.\*\*

**If you take AMBIEN, ask your doctor about AMBIEN CR today.**

**For more information, visit [www.AmbienCR.com](http://www.AmbienCR.com) or call 1-800-637-4096.**

**AMBIEN CR™**  
ZOLPIDEM TARTRATE EXTENDED RELEASE®  
6.25-MG & 12.5-MG EXTENDED RELEASE TABLETS

With AMBIEN CR, getting to sleep fast and staying asleep helps you wake up and get ready for the day.\*\* AMBIEN CR is a treatment option you and your doctor can consider along with lifestyle changes and can be taken for as long as your doctor recommends. Ask your doctor about the latest AMBIEN, AMBIEN CR — and don't forget to mention the CR.

\*Proven effective for up to 7 hours in clinical studies. \*\*Individual results may vary.

#### **Important Safety Information**

AMBIEN is indicated for the short-term treatment of insomnia.

When you first start taking AMBIEN, use caution in the morning when engaging in activities requiring complete alertness until you know how you will react to this medication. In most instances, memory problems can be avoided if you take AMBIEN only when you are able to get a full night's sleep (7 to 8 hours) before you need to be active again. As with any sleep medication, do not use alcohol while you are taking AMBIEN.

Prescription sleep aids are often taken for 7 to 10 days — or longer as advised by your doctor. Like most sleep medicines, it has some risk of dependency.

There is a low occurrence of side effects associated with the short-term use of AMBIEN. The most commonly observed side effects in controlled clinical trials were drowsiness (2%), dizziness (1%), and diarrhea (1%).

AMBIEN CR is indicated for treating insomnia.

It is a treatment option you and your doctor can consider along with lifestyle changes and can be taken for as long as your doctor recommends. Until you know how AMBIEN CR will affect you, you shouldn't drive or operate machinery. Be sure you're able to devote 7 to 8 hours to sleep before being active again. Side effects may include next-day drowsiness, dizziness and headache. It's non-narcotic; however, like most sleep medicines, it has some risk of dependency. Don't take it with alcohol.

  
**sanofi aventis**  
Research. Trust. Success.